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# Tribes in Pre- and Early Islamic Arabia

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The items in the following section originated as *Encyclopaedia of Islam* articles. They are now longer — sometimes much longer — and equipped with fuller references to the primary sources.

The fact that the social system of both the sedentary and the nomadic populations of pre- and early Islamic Arabia was tribal affected every aspect of Arabian life. Comprehensive monographs on specific tribes, based on the available biographical, genealogical and geographical data, remain a desideratum.<sup>1</sup> They will no doubt contribute to a better understanding of the environment in which Islam emerged.

Much attention is given here to genealogy. Genealogies were in a constant state of transformation to adapt to changing ecological, social and political circumstances. Genealogies were employed to form new alliances (and sever old ones); blood relationships have always been crucial in Middle Eastern societies. Genealogies are not correct or incorrect; genealogical claims reflect the situation at a certain point in time, or attempts to transform it.

The *ayyām al-ʿarab* literature is almost exclusively dedicated to the exploits of the nomads, which usually leads to misleading assumptions regarding the size of the settled population compared to that of the nomadic; the former may well have been more numerous.

Valuable pieces of evidence scattered in the sources can easily be overlooked; however, unlike alleged fiery sermons or lively conversations they form a solid foundation for historical research. This may be demonstrated by three topics relating to the *ridda*. First, the devastation suffered by the Ḥanīfa in the aftermath of the *ridda* included the takeover of cultivated land by Quraysh and the settlement of nomads in towns formerly owned by the Ḥanīfa (below, 12). Second, the kingly family of the Kinda from the prestigious ʿAmr ibn Muʿāwiya branch was destroyed in the *ridda* and a member of the Ḥārith ibn Muʿāwiya branch, al-Ashʿath ibn Qays, rose to prominence. (In many other cases tribal leaderships survived the transition from Jāhiliyya to Islam.) Third, on the whole the *ridda* introduced a new level of aggression, unknown from pre-Islamic tribal warfare (below, 14).

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*. The monograph attracted little attention, let alone imitators.

# 1 The Ridda

“Apostasy”, a name given in Islamic historiography to the series of battles against tribes, both nomadic and sedentary, which began shortly before the death of the Prophet Muḥammad and continued throughout Abū Bakr’s caliphate.<sup>2</sup> In many cases the term *ridda* is a misnomer, since numerous tribes and communities had had no contact whatsoever with the Muslim state, or had no formal agreements with it. Actual apostasy only occurred among several tribes which had had previous contacts with Muḥammad. Some tribes were led by chieftains who posed as prophets, claiming divine revelations. These were ‘Abhala al-‘Ansī of the ‘Ans ibn Madhḥij, pejoratively nicknamed al-Aswad or the black one (also *Dhū l-Khimār* or the veiled one)<sup>3</sup> in the Yemen, Maslama or Musaylima (the small or wretched Maslama) of the Ḥanīfa ibn Lujaym in Yamāma, Ṭalḥa or Ṭulayḥa (the small Ṭalḥa)<sup>4</sup> of the Asad, Sajāḥ<sup>5</sup> of the Tamīm — both of them in Najd — and *Dhū l-Tāj* Laqīṭ ibn Mālīk of the Azd in ‘Umān. Most of the tribes which had been under Medinan domination prior to the *ridda* merely refused to go on paying taxes after the Prophet’s death, while declaring their readiness to continue practising Islam. Many of the tribal leaders who had paid the annual taxes to Medina once or twice before Muḥammad’s demise considered themselves free of their former obligations; their subjugation by Medina was a thing of the past. Other tribes had never been subdued by the Islamic state and in their case the Muslim expeditions formed a war of expansion. One assumes that had it not been for Muḥammad’s premature death, Islam would have gained a better foothold in tribal Arabia by spreading its message less aggressively, through Muḥammad’s effective tactics. Before he died, Muḥammad sent out tax collectors to tribes throughout Arabia. At this stage a state apparatus in the proper sense of the word did not yet exist. He used to give a tribal representative — sometimes it was a tribesman who came on his own initiative — authority over the whole tribe, that is, also over those who had not yet embraced Islam. He would instruct his representative to effect a total separation between Muslims and

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<sup>2</sup>*Iktifāʿ*, III, 8–108=*Iktifāʿ (Ridda)*; Ibn Ḥubaysh, I, 14–141; Ṭabarī, I, 1795–98; 1851–2015; Ṭabarī, trans., IX, 164–68; X, 18–192; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, passim; “Qitʿa fi akhbār al-ridda”; Sayf, *Ridda*; Shoufani, *Al-Riddah*; Hoenerbach, *Waṭīma’s Kitāb ar-Ridda*; Kister, “Some notes on ridda verses”; *idem*, “... illā bi-ḥaqqihi ...”; *idem*, “The struggle against Musaylima”; Donner, *Conquests*, 82–90; Landau-Tasseron, “The participation of Ṭayʿ in the *ridda*”; *idem*, “Asad from Jāhiliyya to Islam”, 20–25; on the *ridda* of the Sulaym see Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, index; on their *ḥimās* see *ibid.*, 229–38; on the *ridda* of the Kinda see *idem*, “Kinda on the eve of Islam” and “Judaism among Kinda”; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams*, 7–37; Muranyi, “Ein neuer Bericht über die Wahl des ersten Kalifen Abū Bakr”.

<sup>3</sup>*Fath al-bārī*, VIII, 72–73.

<sup>4</sup>Ṭulayḥa’s men demanded that the Muslims refer to him as Ṭalḥa instead of Ṭulayḥa; *Khamīs*, II, 206 (*lā tuṣagghirū sm nabīyyinā wa-huwa Ṭalḥa*).

<sup>5</sup>Or rather Sajāḥi, like Qaṭāmi; *Lisān al-ʿarab*, II, 475b, s.v.

pagans and “fight against those who turn away with those who come forward”. Consequently, in many tribes progress was gradually being made as the Muslims and the pagans were neutralizing each other. Among the Madhḥij, for example, Farwa ibn Musayk, the Prophet’s representative to the Murād, the Zubayd and the rest of Madhḥij, was confronted by a frustrated rival, ‘Amr ibn Ma’dikarib al-Zubaydī who had become Farwa’s subordinate. Their rival camps confronted and neutralized each other. When Muḥammad died, the latter rebelled. There were Muslim enclaves in many tribes, and as a result the Prophet and Abū Bakr could confront the rebels “by means of messengers and letters”, i.e., by contacts with the tribesmen who remained loyal to Medina. Muḥammad’s death shattered a delicate equilibrium. Many Muslims were killed by the rebels and the Muslim representatives were driven out. The unprecedented cycle of violence which ensued caused major shedding of blood, bringing about lasting changes in the power of tribal groups vis à vis the Islamic state.

Reconstruction of the course of events beyond the general outline is complicated by the many contradictory accounts, which are often apologetic or polemical. The state of the sources indicates that this problematic chapter in tribal history was of acute importance to the tribal informants who recounted the events, and that the manner in which the past was remembered or invented was affected by later sensitivities. The informants often aimed at rehabilitating a tribal leader or at vilifying an opponent, or both. The leaders of the *ridḍa* “were given a second chance” (at least in the literary sphere) and excelled in the Conquests. Thus in the entry on Ṭulayḥa in Ibn Ḥajar’s Companion dictionary we find that Wāqidī, Wathīma and Sayf ibn ‘Umar ascribed great exploits (*mawāqif* ‘*aẓīma*) to him in the *Futūḥ* or Conquests.<sup>6</sup>

Abū Bakr’s decisions and behaviour during the *ridḍa* soon became a major political and even theological issue among both Sunnīs and Shī‘īs because his conduct at the time of crisis indicated his fitness, or lack of it, to hold the high office. His most eloquent advocate was his daughter ‘Ā’isha who had been the Prophet’s wife and who during her many years of widowhood left a strong imprint on Islamic tradition. The roles of Qurashī dignitaries who were willing to accept the nomads’ offer to practice Islam without paying taxes, or those of them who led large Muslim expeditionary forces, were crucial for their direct descendants, their own clans and the rival clans. This refers above all to ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb whose resolve to fight the rebels and his perception of the state of affairs are presented as inferior to those of Abū Bakr. Other dignitaries who occupy much of the space dedicated to the *ridḍa* in the sources were the three commanders of the main forces, all of whom were of the Makhzūm clan, namely the ruthless and hedonistic Khālīd ibn al-Walīd, ‘Ikrima ibn Abī Jahl and al-Muhājir ibn Abī Umayya.<sup>7</sup> Smaller forces were commanded by al-Ṭāhir ibn Abī Hāla and Jarīr

<sup>6</sup>*Iṣāba*, III, 542.

<sup>7</sup>Cf. Madelung, *Succession*, 45.

ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Bajalī.

One assumes that in the monographs dedicated to the *ridda* and *futūḥ* tribal informants are allowed freedom of speech without being subjected to the criticism of professional historians. Wathīma who compiled a monograph on the *ridda* often quotes the expression “he steadfastly remained Muslim” (*thabata ʿalā islāmihi*) from family traditions, with regard to those who remained loyal. The reports are often quoted from Ibn Ishāq and are adorned with verses in which the righteous beseech their fellow tribesmen not to apostatize. Others used the *ridda* reports in intertribal polemics so as to embarrass the surviving relatives of enemies or alleged enemies of the emerging Islamic state.

Naturally, a lot of what we are told about the *ridda* is not history; preference should be given to the solid pieces of information which sometimes emerge in the sources and which can serve as a foundation of historical fact.

The tribes and communities in the east and south of Arabia did not jeopardize the very existence of the Muslim state. This was not the case of the tribes living in the Ḥijāz and Najd. When Abū Bakr ascended the throne, he defied threats from several northern Arabian nomadic tribes to attack Medina. The town was then deprived of much of its military forces since Abū Bakr insisted on dispatching an army to Syria (including both Medinans and tribesmen from Medina’s immediate vicinity) under Usāma ibn Zayd. Some must have considered this a reckless move, hence the claim that it was in fulfillment of a wish made by the dying Prophet. Several other excuses are also given, some of which may have been mere answers to criticism levelled at Abū Bakr. The abundance of versions shows that the move was problematic. The threat posed by the nomads should however not be exaggerated. First, a nomadic takeover of a settlement was a most unusual occurrence in Arabia, although the risk of a raid for plunder was no doubt real. Second, the tribes living in the immediate vicinity of Medina remained unwavering. They included, among others, the Ashjaʿ or part of them.<sup>8</sup> Also the tribes living between Mecca and Medina did not rebel (*mā bayna l-masjidayni*).<sup>9</sup> These tribes were not major players in Arabian politics, but their combined military weight should not be underestimated. They provided Medina with an inner circle of defense, continuing their pre-Islamic links with its tribes. The extreme harshness which the *ridda* of the Sulaym encountered can only be explained by the fact that they were rather close to Medina and came within its immediate sphere of influence. That the inner circle (or the *bādiya*) remained loyal can be seen from the fact that its men joined Usāma’s expedition: together with Usāma, also “those who live around Medina” returned (*wa-thāba man ḥawla l-Madīna*).<sup>10</sup> Indeed Abū Bakr managed to organize the Muslim army in Dhū

<sup>8</sup>It is reported that the ʿAbs and part (*baʿḍ*) of the Asjhaʿ did not apostatize; *Khamīs*, II, 202. In other words, others among the Ashjaʿ did apostatize.

<sup>9</sup>*Khamīs*, II, 202.

<sup>10</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 1880. Cf. Ṭabarī, trans., X, 52: “and those around Medina returned to obedience”; in a footnote it is remarked: “Or ‘collected, gathered in numbers’”.

l-Qaṣṣa and send Khālīd ibn al-Walīd to Najd even before Usāma's return.

Yet on the whole the situation looked bleak. The false prophet Musaylima of the sedentary Ḥanīfa and Ṭulayḥa the nomad were amassing power. The latter was also followed by the Ṭay'. Most of the Ghaṭafān apostatized (with the exception of the Ashja' or part of them), as did parts of the Sulaym, while the Hawāzin remained undecided, with the exception of the Thaqīf who reportedly remained steadfast. The 'Ajuz/A'jāz *Hawāzin* or "the rear part of the Hawāzin", that is the Naṣr ibn Mu'āwiya, Jusham ibn Mu'āwiya and Sa'd ibn Bakr, did not rebel,<sup>11</sup> and the same is true of the Jadīla or Jadīlat Qays, that is the Fahm and 'Adwān.<sup>12</sup> Among the rebellious 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'sa'a (Hawāzin), Qurra ibn Hubayra was leading the Ka'b while 'Alqama ibn 'Ulātha led the Kilāb, having returned from Syria where he had fled after the conquest of al-Ṭa'if.

The only battle which preceded the return of Usāma's force took place in al-Abraq in the Rabadha area east of Medina, against tribes of the Ghaṭafān group, namely the 'Abs and Dhubyān (more precisely, the 'Abs and the Murra subdivision of the Dhubyān). Following their defeat, the 'Abs and Dhubyān massacred the Muslims living in their midst, and their example was followed by other tribes. Ṭulayḥa of the Asad lost the Battle of Buzākha, having been deserted by his non-Asadī allies. First the Ṭay' left unimpeded, having created the impression that their own tribe was threatened by the Muslims (whom they subsequently joined). Then the Ghaṭafān under 'Uyayna ibn Ḥiṣn of the Fazāra defected, which led to the flight of Ṭulayḥa himself.

The most important events of the *ridda* involved the Tamīm, the largest nomadic tribe in Arabia, and the sedentary Ḥanīfa who lived in Yamāma. Many of the Tamīm (perhaps most of them) yielded to Muslim control during Muḥammad's lifetime. Those among them who withheld their taxes after his death were, according to the Muslim perception, apostates. Several tax collectors placed by the Prophet in charge of the Tamīm demonstrate the existence of Muslim authority over them. For example, the Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāt, the most numerous subdivision of the Tamīm, had two tax collectors appointed by Muḥammad: al-Zibriqān ibn Badr who also levied taxes from Tamīm's relatives, the Ribāb, and Qays ibn 'Āṣim. It appears that the Ribāb came under al-Zibriqān's authority in order to maintain the military balance within the Sa'd. Typically, Qays was waiting to see what al-Zibriqān would do with the camels that he had collected as taxes for Medina, in order to do the opposite. Indeed Tamīm's subdivisions, not to mention the Tamīm as a whole, did not form a unified group and the same could be said of every single tribe, nomadic or sedentary. At the outset of the *ridda* Muḥammad reportedly asked both al-Zibriqān and Qays ibn 'Āṣim — through a messenger — to cooperate in order to kill

<sup>11</sup>The rear part of the Hawāzin are also referred to as *man qāraba Tihāma min Hawāzin; Khamīs*, II, 202. The fore part of the Hawāzin was the one facing Najd. Cf. Ṭabarī, trans., X, 42, where *al-a'jāz* are rendered "the weak groups".

<sup>12</sup>Not Jadīlat Ṭay'; cf. Ṭabarī, trans., X, 42 n. 244.

Musaylima.<sup>13</sup> Reportedly al-Zibriqān was the second to bring Muḥammad the camels collected as taxes, having been preceded by ‘Adī ibn Ḥātim<sup>14</sup> — but this is precisely where tribal informants differ, and there are other claims regarding the order of arrival at Medina. At some stage al-Zibriqān must have been in contact with Musaylima whom he addressed as “the prophet of God” and whom he asked to bless a newborn baby of his;<sup>15</sup> the baby went dumb.<sup>16</sup> Obviously, the edge of this story turns against the false prophet, but its testimony regarding al-Zibriqān’s contact with him may be trustworthy.

Two events dominate the accounts of the *ridda* of the Tamīm. First, the affair of the false prophetess Sajāḥ, above all her infamous encounter with Musaylima. Musaylima required strict asceticism of his men, and the obscene descriptions of his meeting with Sajāḥ were probably polemical and meant to call his abstemious image into question.<sup>17</sup> Second, the killing of Mālik ibn Nuwayra and the ensuing criticism concerning Khālīd ibn al-Walīd’s conduct.

Medina’s staunchest enemies were the sedentary Ḥanīfa who were unified (with the exception of the Suḥaym subdivision)<sup>18</sup> under the physically unimpressive Musaylima<sup>19</sup> who suffered from a speech impediment.<sup>20</sup> The sedentary people of Yamāma had of course close relations with nomadic or half-nomadic tribes roaming their area. Musaylima declared a *ḥaram* in Yamāma which contained towns belonging to several Tamīmī groups, more precisely the Usayyid.<sup>21</sup> ‘Aqrabā’, where the decisive battle against the Ḥanīfa took place, was on the fringes of Yamāma before the orchards began (*wa-hiya ṭarafu l-Yamāma dūna l-amwāl wa-rīfu l-Yamāma warā’a ḡuhūrihim*).<sup>22</sup> It was close to

<sup>13</sup>*Li-yata‘āwanā ‘alā qatl Musaylima*; see the entry on Muḥammad’s messenger, Ziyād ibn Ḥanzala, in *Iṣāba*, II, 583; cf. *Istī‘āb*, II, 531 (*li-yata‘āwanū ‘alā Musaylima l-kadhdhāb wa-ṭulayḥa wa-l-Aswad*).

<sup>14</sup>*Naqā’id*, II, 715.

<sup>15</sup>Or, more accurately, he asked him to give the baby its first food, or rub the baby’s palate with a date chewed by Musaylima, mixed with the latter’s saliva.

<sup>16</sup>See also Kister, “The struggle against Musaylima”, 43.

<sup>17</sup>Kister, “The struggle against Musaylima”, 23–27.

<sup>18</sup>See the entry on al-Aq‘as ibn Salama in *Iṣāba*, I, 105–106; *Qif’a fī akhbār al-ridda*, 196.

<sup>19</sup>He was *ruwayjīl uṣayfir ukhaynis*; Ṭabarī, I, 1949; “a small, yellowish, flat-nosed man”; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 126. See also Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 90 (*kāna qaṣīran shadīda l-ṣufra akhnasa l-anf aṭṭas*).

<sup>20</sup>*Wa-kāna aratt bihi ghunna*; *Qif’a fī akhbār al-ridda*, 218.

<sup>21</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 1932 (*wa-ḍaraba ḥaraman bi-l-Yamāma fa-nahā ‘anhu wa-akhadha l-nās bihi fa-kāna muḥarraman fa-waqa’a fī dhālīka l-ḥaram qurā al-aḥālīf*); he “erected a sacred enclave in al-Yamāmah, restricting it and imposing it upon the people so that it was respected. Now there were situated within that sacred enclave the towns of the Aḥālīf — sections of Banū Usayyid whose abode was in al-Yamāmah; so the place of their abode came to be in the sacred area”; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 108; Kister, “The struggle against Musaylima”, 21–22.

<sup>22</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 1939. Cf. Ṭabarī, trans., X, 115: “Now [‘Aqrabā’] was on the outskirts of al-Yamāmah this side of the flocks with the cultivated land of al-Yamāmah at their backs”. ‘Aqrabā’ is located some fifty km north of Riyadh; *Mu‘jam al-Yamāma*, II, 163. This source is very useful in identifying the places mentioned in the historical reports.

Musaylima's hometown al-Haddār (whose name is preserved in the modern name al-Hudaydir).<sup>23</sup> This is clear from the mention of the two places next to each other by al-Hamdānī who says that al-Haddār is Dhuhliyya, i.e., it is inhabited by people of the Dhuhl ibn al-Du'l — as we shall see this reflects post-*ridda* conditions. Al-Haddār contains fortresses (*ḥuṣūn*), palm dates and ancient palaces (*quṣūr ʿādiyya*).<sup>24</sup> After an initial defeat the Muslims pushed the Ḥanafīs to “the Orchard of Death” (*ḥadīqat al-mawt*).<sup>25</sup> The orchard belonged to Musaylima and was originally called *ḥadīqat al-raḥmān* after him, since his believers called him *al-raḥmān*. But after he had been slain there, it became known as “the Orchard of Death”.<sup>26</sup> His corpse was thrown into the well from which he used to drink.<sup>27</sup> Musaylima's hometown al-Haddār is in the upper part of wadi Ḥanīfa.<sup>28</sup> There he was born, grew up and began his prophetic career. The well he owned there was cased with stone (*ṭawī*). When the Ḥanīfa heard about him, they exchanged letters with him and brought him to Ḥajr (modern Riyadh).<sup>29</sup>

The historical traditions of Quraysh and the Anṣār preserved lists of their members who were killed on the battlefield (many more of the latter group died there), but one looks in vain for the names of the slain nomads. To be sure, there were hundreds of them among the dead. In one report we are told that the total number of troops in the Muslim army was four thousand, between four hundred to five hundred of whom were from the Anṣār. The ranks of the Muslim soldiers were uneven and included many Bedouins (*... wa-dhālīka anna ṣufūfanā kānat mukhtalīṭa fihā ḥashw kathīr mīna l-aʿrāb fī khilāl ṣufūfinā*), which accounts for the initial Muslim defeats in Yamāma.<sup>30</sup>

The battle in “the Orchard of Death” and Musaylima's own death in it did not end the war, since most of the people were still in the fortresses, which

<sup>23</sup> As suggested by Jāsir, *Madīnat al-Riyād*, 55n; Jāsir, *Raḥḥāla gharbiyyūna*, 360. See also *Muʿjam al-Yamāma*, II, 451–56, 457–58. The Ṣabāḥ family that rules Kuwait is descended from the Jumayla tribe. The Jumayla had lived in al-Haddār but were pushed out following battles against the Dawāsir; *ibid.*, 454.

<sup>24</sup> Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 254.

<sup>25</sup> A place called *ḥadīqat al-mawt* was also the site of a fierce battle in pre-Islamic Medina (Yathrib); Samhūdī, I, 208. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Ḥadīqa, says inaccurately that the fighting took place between the Aws and Khazraj; in fact it was an internal Khazrajī affair.

<sup>26</sup> *Khamīs*, II, 213. The orchard was still known at the time of the caliph al-Maʾmūn whose governor in Yamāma built there a Friday mosque; *Muʿjam al-Yamāma*, II, 167.

<sup>27</sup> *Khamīs*, II, 218. The orchard was located in Qanā Ḥajr; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Ḥadīqa.

<sup>28</sup> Ibn Khamīs, *Majāz*, 32.

<sup>29</sup> Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Haddār. On Ḥajr al-Yamāma see *Muʿjam al-Yamāma*, I, 292–305.

<sup>30</sup> *Khamīs*, II, 214. See also Kister, “The struggle against Musaylima”, 45, 47. Donner, *Conquests*, 88, was misled by the tendentious attention given in the literature to the Muhājirūn and Anṣār: according to him, the core of the force sent to Najd and Yamāma was made up of troops from the Muhājirūn, Anṣār, Quraysh and Thaḳīf. Estimates put the number of those killed at Yamāma between seven hundred and seventeen hundred; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 93. The Muslim dead numbered three hundred and sixty of the Muhājirūn and Anṣār who lived in Medina (*min ahl qaṣabati l-Madīna*), three hundred of the Muhājirūn who were not from *ahl al-Madīna* and three hundred of the *tābiʿūn bi-ḥsān*; Ṭabarī, I, 1951; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 128.



remained intact. The Ḥanafī Mujjāʿa ibn Murāra who had been taken captive at an earlier stage negotiated with Khālīd on behalf of the Ḥanīfa. Using an old ruse he disguised the children, women and old men who remained in the fortresses as warriors,<sup>31</sup> thus improving the terms of his tribe's capitulation and obtaining a better deal from the exhausted Muslims. Above all, the women and children were probably not divided as spoils of war. The agreement also included an important clause relating to orchards and fields.<sup>32</sup> It prescribed that the Muslims receive an orchard and a field in every town to be chosen by Khālīd.<sup>33</sup> But the story of the ruse may have been invented in order to defend Khālīd's policy because the negotiated treaty — fortified by Khālīd's marriage to Mujjāʿa's daughter — inflicted great losses in booty on the Muslims.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps some considered the terms of the treaty to be too favourable for the Ḥanafīs considering the preceding bloodbath in which hundreds of Muslims lost their lives. The treaty is listed among those of Khālīd's actions to which Abū Bakr objected: the killing of Mālik ibn Nuwayra, the marriage with Mālik's wife, the treaty of Yamāma and the marriage to Mujjāʿa's daughter.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, Khālīd is said to have apologized to the caliph about the signing of the treaty, referring to the many dead and wounded among the Muslims and to the poor state of their camels and horses.<sup>36</sup>

The affair of al-Aswad, which is full of intrigue, lasted for some four months.<sup>37</sup> Al-Aswad/ʿAbhala was born and grew up in a village near Najrān called Khubbān.<sup>38</sup> The affair involved a struggle between the Persian Abnāʾ (or the descendants of the Sassanian troops who conquered the Yemen from the Ethiopians and married Arab women), and members of several Arab tribes, over control of Ṣanʿāʾ and the rest of the Yemen. During this power struggle Medina remained in the background; when the Abnāʾ managed to regain control of Ṣanʿāʾ, Abū Bakr recognized them, precisely as the Prophet had done several years earlier. Having reestablished themselves, the Abnāʾ were challenged by Qays ibn al-Makshūḥ al-Murādī who took Ṣanʿāʾ, but managed to drive him out shortly afterwards with the aid of Arab tribes.

The road to the Yemen was secured by a Muslim expedition force which brought the rebellious ʿAmr ibn Maʿdīkarīb and Qays ibn al-Makshūḥ back to

<sup>31</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 1950–51; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 127–28; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 90.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. *Qifʿa fī akhbār al-ridda*, 204 (Khālīd settled for one fourth of the slaves [*saby*] instead of the one half agreed beforehand; the original agreement that included the handing over of the gold, silver and weapons — or half of them — probably remained intact); 205 (the terms included *al-bayḍāʾ wa-l-ṣafrāʾ wa-l-ḥalqa wa-ḥāʾiṭ wa-mazraʿa wa-niṣṣa l-ʿushr wa-l-mamlūkīna*).

<sup>33</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 1953; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 130 (a garden and a farm).

<sup>34</sup>Cf. ʿUmar's blunt accusation in *Qifʿa fī akhbār al-ridda*, 219 (*a-biʿta fayʿa l-muslimīna bi-ḥirr aṣabtahu?*). See also Ḥassān, *Diwān*, I, 459.

<sup>35</sup>*TMD*, XVI, 274.

<sup>36</sup>*TMD*, XVI, 259.

<sup>37</sup>*TMD*, XLIX, 491.

<sup>38</sup>Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Khubbān. For ʿAbhal as a proper name see *Lisān al-ʿarab*, at the end of s.v. ʿ.b.h.l..

the Muslim camp, and the Yemen as a whole could now be pacified. Then the Muslims turned to deal with the rebellion in Ḥaḍramawt. Here the dominant tribe Kinda yielded to superior forces, one under al-Muhājir ibn Abī Umayya (of the Makhzūm) arriving from the Yemen, and another under ʿIkrima ibn Abī Jahl (also of the Makhzūm) arriving from the land of Mahra. The kingly family from the prestigious branch of Kinda, the ʿAmr ibn Muʿāwiya, was destroyed in a surprise night attack. Members of this branch and of the Ḥārith ibn Muʿāwiya branch surrendered after having been besieged in al-Nujayr. As a consequence of the war against the Kinda, al-Ashʿath ibn Qays of the Ḥārith branch rose to prominence. This shift of leadership was atypical, since usually a pre-Islamic tribal leadership became an Islamic one regardless of its attitude or level of competence during the *ridda*. Indeed, while Abū Bakr probably rose to the challenge of the *ridda*, many tribal leaders miscalculated the risks involved in antagonizing Medina, thereby jeopardizing the lives and subsistence of their people. Muḥammad had changed the rules of the game in the internal politics of Medina by breaking up the old alliances, and the *ridda* changed the rules of the game for the rest of Arabia. ʿUyayna ibn Ḥiṣn is said to have been the only Arab to receive one *mirbāʿ* or a quarter of the spoils of war in the Jāhiliyya and one *khums* or a fifth of the booty under Islam.<sup>39</sup> But it can be said that the tribes were conservative with regard to their old leading families, notwithstanding the official attitude towards these leaders which was often one of mistrust.

The war in Ḥaḍramawt was preceded by fighting in the southeastern corner of Arabia where *Dhū l-Tāj* Laqīṭ ibn Mālik al-Azdī pushed Jayfar and ʿAbbād, the sons of the Julandā who were Abū Bakr's allies, to the mountains and to the coast of Ṣuḥār. Tribal forces were sent by Medina to aid its allies, respectively led by a Ḥimyarī (Ḥudhayfa ibn Miḥṣan al-Ghalfānī) and an Azdī (ʿArfaja al-Bāriqī). The former was put in charge of ʿUmān and the latter of the land of Mahra. They besieged Laqīṭ in Dabā and were joined by other tribal forces under ʿIkrima ibn Abī Jahl who was on his way to the land of Mahra and Ḥaḍramawt. The Muslims were also supported by troops from the Nājiya and the ʿAbd al-Qays. Laqīṭ camped in Dabā while Jayfar and ʿAbbād were in Ṣuḥār. Then they joined forces with the Muslims and attacked Laqīṭ in Dabā. At a crucial moment the Nājiya under al-Khirrīt ibn Rāshid and the ʿAbd al-Qays under Sayḥān ibn Ṣuḥān joined in. After the battle, ʿArfaja was sent to Medina with the *khums* which amounted to eight hundred captives and other spoils. The market of Dabā was plundered.<sup>40</sup>

ʿIkrima continued his march to the land of Mahra with the tribal troops that joined him (a subdivision of the Azd called Rāsib and the Saʿd ibn Zayd Manāt of the Tamīm are specifically mentioned). The Mahra were weakened by internal strife and the weaker party allied itself with the Muslims (in other words, it

<sup>39</sup>Ibn Shabba, II, 537–38.

<sup>40</sup>Ṭabarī, I 1977–80; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 152–55.

converted to Islam). After the stronger party was subdued, the leader of the weaker one brought one fifth of the spoils to Medina.<sup>41</sup> As one might expect, when ʿIkrima continued his march to fight the Kinda in Ḥaḍramawt, his army also contained warriors from the Mahra.

In Baḥrayn the situation was aggravated by the demise, shortly after the Prophet's death, of his governor in Baḥrayn, al-Mundhir ibn Sāwā of the Tamīm. The Qays ibn Thaʿlaba of the Bakr ibn Wāʿil “and the whole of the Rabīʿa” rebelled under al-Ḥuṭam who was one of the Qays, while al-Jārūd al-ʿAbdī of the ʿAbd al-Qays, among others, was steadfastly loyal to Islam. A client of Quraysh, al-ʿAlāʾ ibn al-Ḥaḍramī, who had replaced al-Mundhir as governor of Baḥrayn, fought against the rebels, assisted by the Arabs and Persians (*ʿajam*) who joined him. Among others he was supported by a large force of the Tamīm. Al-Ḥuṭam's camp included some who had never embraced Islam and hence were not apostates. He controlled al-Qaṭīf, Hajar, Dārīn (modern Tārūt) and al-Khaṭṭ, while the Muslims were besieged in their stronghold, Juwāthā, until they were rescued by al-ʿAlāʾ. Having been defeated on the mainland, the rebels fled to the island of Dārīn which the Muslims took after having miraculously crossed the sea. The rebellion in Baḥrayn was quelled after the war against the Ḥanīfa was over: Thumāma ibn Uthāl among other Ḥanafīs could only have fought on the Muslim side in Baḥrayn after the war in Yamāma. Thumāma led Ḥanafīs from the Banū Suḥaym and *ahl al-qurā* from other subdivisions of the Ḥanīfa. They joined al-ʿAlāʾ ibn al-Ḥaḍramī when he passed near Yamāma.<sup>42</sup>

The *ridda* can be seen as a general rehearsal for the Conquests. The Qurashī generals gained precious experience in mobilizing large multi-tribal armies over long distances and their successes were achieved through the concerted effort of many tribes.

The novelty of these cross-Arabian expeditions is reflected in a saying attributed to al-Ashʿath ibn Qays: “We are the furthest Arabs from Abū Bakr, will Abū Bakr send troops against us?”<sup>43</sup> The Qurashī generals benefited from their tribe's profound understanding of tribal politics among both the settled populations and the nomads throughout Arabia, created over generations of close relationships between Mecca and many tribes, even those living in the remotest corners. It was usually the weaker party in the tribe that sought the Muslims' support against the stronger one, and naturally when a tribal leader was appointed to an office of authority, one party was played off against the other.

The tribes of Najd and Yamāma could not have been subdued without resort to military power. A crucial role was played by Khālīd ibn al-Walīd whose mother was a nomad. Indeed the bedouin way of life was not alien to him as is demonstrated by his attitude to the consumption of lizards: he is said to have

<sup>41</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 1980–82; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 155–57.

<sup>42</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 1962; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 139.

<sup>43</sup>Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqa al-rābiʿa*, II, 675, 680.

eaten a lizard, while Muḥammad who was standing by was disgusted by it. Already at the conquest of Mecca (8/630) Khālīd led a troop of nomads (referred to as *muhājirat al-ʿarab*), and at the Battle of Ḥunayn shortly afterwards he led the nomadic Sulaym in the vanguard of the Muslim army.<sup>44</sup>

The *ridda* permanently changed the relationship between the central government and the strong tribes of Arabia. The latter were trying to abolish whatever ascendancy the Muslim state had achieved during the lifetime of Muḥammad and to return to the old rules of Arabian politics which had been made redundant by his tactics. However, the potential rivals of Medina were overpowered by large expedition forces of a scale unprecedented in tribal warfare, mobilized and led by able Muslim generals. The state was now above to subdue every single tribe or tribal coalition throughout Arabia. From now on there was an exceedingly high price to be paid for challenging the new state. The battlefield successes of the Muslims secured for them the cooperation of tribes living between Medina and the territories of the rebellious tribes even in the remotest corners of Arabia. The Lakhmids of Ḥīra too used to collect taxes from the nomads and send out troops into Arabia, but the ideological element was lacking in Ḥīra's relationship with the tribes.

The war led to a re-distribution of resources in Arabia as a whole, both among the nomads and the settled people, especially of course among the former who were more vulnerable. Not all tribes were affected; the stronger the tribe the better chance it stood to be pardoned and keep its resources for itself. Medina reestablished its prestige and dealt out the severest punishment to those guilty of killing Muslims earlier in the fighting.

The territorial aspect of the war and its aftermath is most important. Khālīd's treaty with the Ḥanīfa prescribed that he receive one orchard and one field of his choice in every town included in the agreement. The towns in the Yamāma area that were not included were subjected to the full consequences of defeat. The inhabitants of Mar'a (some 160 km north west of Riyadh), for one, were not included in the treaty; hence they were enslaved and a tribal group of the Tamīm, the Imru' al-Qays ibn Zayd Manāt ibn Tamīm, settled in their town; in other words, first they dwelt in its vicinity and then they occupied it.<sup>45</sup>

Musaylima's hometown al-Haddār was not part of the treaty either. Khālīd enslaved its people and settled there (*wa-askanahā*) the Banū l-A'raj, i.e., the Banū l-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāt ibn Tamīm who live there "to

<sup>44</sup>Cf. Marjānī, *Bahjat al-nufūs*, I, 147–48: a man of the Sulaym came to Muḥammad carrying a lizard and declared that he would only embrace Islam if the lizard did. There followed the conversion of the lizard, the unspecified Sulamī and one thousand men from his tribe. They were ordered by the Prophet to fight under Khālīd ibn al-Walīd's banner.

<sup>45</sup>Yaqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Mar'a (*qaryat banī mri'i l-Qays ibn Zayd Manāt ibn Tamīm . . . lam tadkhul Mar'a fī l-ṣulḥ fa-subīya ahluhā wa-sakanahā ḥīna'idhin banū mri'i l-Qays ibn Zayd Manāt ibn Tamīm fa-amarū mā wālāhā ḥattā ghalabū 'alayhā*). See on this group below, 72. See on this place *Mu'jam al-Yamāma*, II, 350–52; Jāsir, *Raḥḥāla gharbiyyūna*, 359–60.

this day". The Dhuhl ibn al-Du'l too lived in the same town.<sup>46</sup> These changes demonstrate how local groups of the Tamīm, among others, benefited from their cooperation with Khālīd in Yamāma. Other towns not included in the treaty were al-Suyūh,<sup>47</sup> al-Dayq, al-ʿAriqa, al-Ghabrā',<sup>48</sup> Fayshān,<sup>49</sup> al-Qurayya (modern S(a/u)dūs, one of Yamāma's central settlements),<sup>50</sup> al-Qaṣabāt,<sup>51</sup> al-Qaltayni, al-Kirs, Makhrafa and al-Maṣānī'.<sup>52</sup> In addition, al-Majāza was inhabited by the Hizzān of the ʿAnaza and by people of mixed descent (*akhlāt mina l-nās*), including *mawālī* of Quraysh and others. They (the *akhlāt*, or the Hizzān and the *akhlāt*) settled there after the *ridda* since it had not been included in Khālīd's treaty.<sup>53</sup> Ḥanīfa's marginalization in early Islamic administration is a direct consequence of the war. Suffice it to compare their insignificant role in early Islamic administration to that of the much smaller sedentary tribe Thaḳīf. It is doubtful that a Ḥanafī was ever appointed as the governor of Yamāma.<sup>54</sup>

The new balance of power between the central government and the tribes is reflected in the takeover by the state of tribal protected grazing grounds. The thousands of camels and other beasts taken as booty during the last years of Muḥammad's life, in addition to those collected from the nomads in taxes, needed large grazing grounds. In addition, several influential Qurashīs, such as the future caliph ʿUthmān ibn ʿAffān, al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf, were in fact competing with the state because they were themselves owners of large numbers of horses, camels and sheep. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān left in his bequest one thousand camels, three thousand ewes and one hundred horses.<sup>55</sup> His ewes and horses grazed in al-Naqī'.<sup>56</sup>

It was Muḥammad himself who declared al-Naqī', some hundred and twenty km south of Medina, a state-*ḥimā* "for the horses of the Muslims", probably at the expense of the Sulaym, and put a member of the Muzayna in charge of it. Moreover, Muḥammad reportedly abolished the tribal grazing grounds by declaring that the only legitimate *ḥimā* belonged to God and His messenger, in other words to the state. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAwf's beasts may well have been graz-

<sup>46</sup>Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Haddār. The text is garbled.

<sup>47</sup>Identified in *Muʿjam al-Yamāma*, II, 46, with Sayḥ wadi Ḥanīfa.

<sup>48</sup>Identified in *Muʿjam al-Yamāma*, II, with al-Ghubayrā'.

<sup>49</sup>*Muʿjam al-Yamāma*, II, 259–60.

<sup>50</sup>*Muʿjam al-Yamāma*, II, 15–18, 285–86; Jāsir, *Raḥḥāla gharbiyyūna*, 241–44.

<sup>51</sup>Also called al-Quṣayba and al-Qaṣab; *Muʿjam al-Yamāma*, II, 286–92.

<sup>52</sup>Now a suburb of Riyadh; *Muʿjam al-Yamāma*, II, 370.

<sup>53</sup>Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Majāza. The other towns listed above also have entries in Yāqūt, *Buldān*.

<sup>54</sup>Khālīd ibn al-Walīd left in charge of Yamāma a Tamīmī, Samura ibn ʿAmr al-ʿAnbarī.

<sup>55</sup>Yāqūt, *Mushākala*, 13–14.

<sup>56</sup>*Mustadrak*, III, 309. Bakkār, al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār's father who was the governor of Medina under Hārūn al-Rashīd (Ibn Saʿd, V, 422), had more than three thousand ewes in al-Naqī', but he did not take advantage of his office: they did not graze in the *ḥimā* and his shepherds competed with the others when on a certain day of the year the *ḥimā* was opened to all; Samhūdī, 1086.

ing in the state-*ḥimā*, but this is uncertain. His camels were probably employed in his large trading caravans, while the horses no doubt formed an investment in military expeditions. Al-Zubayr ibn al-ʿAwwām's descendants owned al-Rabadha which had belonged to the Saʿd ibn Bakr of the Fazāra.<sup>57</sup>

Indeed the rebellion gave the state a golden opportunity and pretext to change realities on the ground. The size of the state-*ḥimās* expanded continually under the caliphs, limiting the land and water resources of certain tribes. A telling example of this process is linked to the battle at the beginning of the *ridda* against the ʿAbs and Dhubyān which took place in al-Abraq in the Rabadha area some 200 km east of Medina (above, 6). Abū Bakr actually conquered Dhubyān's territory (*ghalaba banī Dhubyān ʿala l-bilād*) and expelled (*ajlā*) its owners. He made al-Abraq a *ḥimā* for the horses of the Muslims (in other words, he made it state property) and permitted everybody to graze in the rest of al-Rabadha at the expense of the Thaʿlaba ibn Saʿd ibn Dhubyān. Later he declared the whole of al-Rabadha *ḥimā* for the camels collected as taxes (*ṣadaqāt al-muslimīna*), because fighting erupted between the people and the officials in charge of the state-camels (*aṣḥāb al-ṣadaqāt*).<sup>58</sup> One report attributes the expulsion of the Thaʿlaba ibn Saʿd ibn Dhubyān from al-Rabadha to ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb,<sup>59</sup> while another has it that the state-*ḥimā* in al-Rabadha was declared by Muḥammad for the camels collected as taxes,<sup>60</sup> in which case Abū Bakr was merely reestablishing state authority there.

The takeover of grazing lands should be linked to the terms offered by Abū Bakr to the apostate ʿAlqama ibn ʿUlātha. Abū Bakr gave him a choice between *silm mukhziya* and *ḥarb mujliya*, “a humiliating peace” and “war leading to expulsion”. In the former option the rebels declare that the Muslims killed in battle are in Paradise and that their own dead are in Hell; in addition, they pay blood money for the Muslims killed in battle, while the Muslims do not pay for their dead. ʿAlqama chose the former, thereby preserving his tribal territory.<sup>61</sup>

The *ridda* introduced a level of aggression formerly unknown in tribal warfare. Abū Bakr's instruction to kill all the Ḥanafīs who had reached puberty (*man jarat ʿalayhi l-mawāsī*) arrived too late to be carried out.<sup>62</sup> The heads of slain Tamīmīs were used as supports for cooking-pots (*wa-inna ahla l-ʿaskar aththafū*

<sup>57</sup>Samhūdī, 1091; *Manāsik*, 328.

<sup>58</sup>Cf. Ṭabarī, trans., X, 51–52.

<sup>59</sup>*Manāsik*, 326–27 (*fa-wajjaha ilayhim ʿUmar jayshan ḥattā ajlāhum*). See also Ibn Saʿd, V, 11, for the testimony of ʿUmar's *mawlā*, Hunayy, whom ʿUmar put in charge of *ḥimā* al-Rabadha, with a family *isnād* going back to Hunayy's son and grandson.

<sup>60</sup>Samhūdī, 1084.

<sup>61</sup>*TMD*, XLI, 151. Alternatively it is reported that Abū Bakr gave the tribal delegations a choice between *khittā mukhziya* and *ḥarb mujliya*: the former meant Paradise for the Muslim dead and Hellfire for their dead, in addition to the return of the *amwāl* they robbed from the Muslims without reciprocity; *TMD*, XXX, 319.

<sup>62</sup>Ṭabarī, I 1955; cf. Ṭabarī, trans., X, 131 (“...to execute everyone of Banū Ḥanīfah over who[se face] a razor had passed”). See also Kister, “The struggle against Musaylima”, 33–34.

*bi-ru'ūsihimi l-quḍūr*).<sup>63</sup> A subdivision of the Namir was eradicated (*ubīrū*).<sup>64</sup> In part, the aim was restoring the awe of Islam. Thus Khālīd accepted from certain tribes (the Asad, Ghatafān, Hawāzin, Sulaym and Tay') a pledge of allegiance and conversion to Islam only after they had extradited those who had attacked the Muslims. The culprits were ruthlessly executed in a variety of ways.<sup>65</sup> Other examples of cruelty could be added.

Indeed this was a period of great danger in Arabian politics. Large tribal armies steered by Qurashī commanders were crossing tribal boundaries looking for targets. Old alliances crumbled and new ones were formed. The tribal challenge to Medina's authority came too late. The Muslim enclaves in many tribes, the Qurashī organizational skills and profound understanding of Arabian politics, the vacuum created along the Persian Gulf and in the Yemen by power struggles in the Sassanian court, and above all the clear advantage of the emerging state in beasts and weaponry, all these created new realities throughout Arabia. Previously the tribes had feared the takeover of their land and water resources by other tribes, but under the evolving circumstances the powerful state and certain individuals (probably backed by the state) coveted the same resources.

For practical reasons the Muslims were lenient towards most of the rebel leaders, simply because employing the existing leadership was the most effective means of controlling the tribes.

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<sup>63</sup>Ṭabarī, I 1927 (reported with reference to Mālik ibn Nuwayra's long hair); Ṭabarī, trans., X, 103.

<sup>64</sup>See also Ṭabarī, I, 1902 (*wa-ubīrat yawma'idhin buyūtāt min Jās*). The Jās belong to the Fazāra; Ibn Mākūlā, V, 61 (pedigree of Jās). Cf. Ṭabarī, trans., X, 78. The verb *ubīra* was also used of the enemy troops killed in the "Orchard of Death"; Ṭabarī, I 1949; cf. Ṭabarī, trans., X, 125 ("perished").

<sup>65</sup>The submission of the 'Āmir was only accepted on the same terms; Ṭabarī, I, 1900, 1901; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 76, 77. This was also the case with al-Fujā'a of the Sulaym who gave orders to attack every Muslim among the Sulaym, 'Āmir and Hawāzin. Upon Abū Bakr's instructions he was literally thrown into a bonfire; Ṭabarī, I 1903, 1904; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 79–81. Khālīd gathered men of the Sulaym in cattle enclosures (*ḥaṣā'ir*) and burned them alive; 'Umar demanded that Abū Bakr dismiss him because he had used a form of torture exclusively reserved to Allāh (*bi-'adhābi llāh*), but the latter refused to "sheath a sword unsheathed by God"; *TMD*, XVI 240.

## 2 al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ

A tribe of the Rabīʿa ibn Nizār group, mostly living in the Jazīra.<sup>66</sup> The fortunes of the Namir were closely linked to those of their relatives, the Taghlib (on whom see below, 34). When in the second half of the sixth century C.E. the Taghlib migrated up the Euphrates to the eastern part of the Jazīra or the Diyār Rabīʿa, they were joined by part of the Namir.<sup>67</sup> However, there were still Namarīs in Arabia after that time, more specifically in Yamāma<sup>68</sup> and Baḥrayn.<sup>69</sup> Most of the Namarīs associated with the Tamīm were those who remained in Arabia.<sup>70</sup> Some tribe members settled in al-Andalus.<sup>71</sup>

Several monographs are known to have been compiled about the Namir. Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kātib al-Nadīm compiled several books about tribes, among them *Kitāb al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ*.<sup>72</sup> According to the *Fihrist*, ʿAllān al-Shuʿūbī compiled a *Kitāb nasab al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ*. His “Book of Vices” entitled *Kitāb al-maydān fī l-mathālib* contains a chapter on *mathālib Rabīʿa* in which there is a section on the Namir.<sup>73</sup> Maṣṣūr al-Namarī was a famous Namarī poet of the 2nd/8th century<sup>74</sup> and Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfur devoted his *Kitāb ikhtiyār shiʿr Maṣṣūr al-Namarī* to him.<sup>75</sup>

The Namarī leader ʿAqqa ibn Qays ibn al-Bishr (...ibn ʿAqqa ibn Jusham

<sup>66</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 576–81; *Nasab Maʿadd*, I, 96–100; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 300–302; Abū ʿUbayd, *Nasab*, 357–58; Yāqūt, *Muqtaḍab*, 208–209; Caskel, II, 444. Not every Namarī mentioned in the sources belonged to the Namir ibn Qāsiṭ since tribal groups called al-Namir were also found among the Azd (*Īnās*, 259) and Quḍāʿa (Qalqashandī, *Nihāya*, 78). See also Samʿānī, V, 524–26. Many a Namarī mentioned in the sources is in fact a Numayrī since the omission of the *yāʾ* from “al-Numayrī” is a common error.

<sup>67</sup>Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, I, 391. Their land was Raʿs al-ʿAyn in al-Jazīra al-Furāṭiyya. A watering place west of Takrīt belonged to the Namir; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Luhaym. See also below, 23n.

<sup>68</sup>Qulāb, one of the largest wadis of al-ʿAlāt in Yamāma, was inhabited by the Namir; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.vv. Qulāb and Nisāḥ. There were Namarīs in the Māwān town in Yamāma; Hamdānī, *Ṣifa*, 275.

<sup>69</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 1973; Ṭabarī, trans., X, 149.

<sup>70</sup>The Namarī poet Dithār ibn Shaybān was al-Zibriqān’s client; *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), II, 183; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Tayrim. Al-Farazdaq had a wife from the Namir, more precisely from the Yarābī, a *baṭn* of the Namir who were the clients (*ḥulafāʾ*) of al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAbbād al-Qaynī and claimed Qaynī descent; *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), IX, 342 (*wa-qadi ntasabū fihim*). In Abū ʿUbayda’s parallel version, quoted in *Aghānī*, IX, 343, the word *ḥulafāʾ* is replaced with the preposition *fī* (*al-yarābī qawm minā l-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ fī banī l-Ḥārith ibn ʿAbbād*); the preposition confirms that *ḥulafāʾ* in this context are clients. For more evidence of Namir’s contacts with the Tamīm see below.

<sup>71</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 302. Among the people of Dabā on the Persian Gulf who rebelled in the *ridda* we find the Azd ʿUmān, the Namir and the Kalb; *Iktifāʾ*, III, 11; but these Namir may have been the Namir of the Azd.

<sup>72</sup>Najāshī, *Rijāl*, I, 238.

<sup>73</sup>*Fihrist* (ed. Ṭawīl), 170.

<sup>74</sup>*Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), XIII, 140–57.

<sup>75</sup>Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, I, 285; see also *GAS*, II, 541–42.



ibn Hilāl) who was crucified by Khālīd ibn al-Walīd in ‘Ayn al-Tamr belonged to a subdivision of the Namir called Hilāl ibn Rabī‘a ibn Zayd Manāt.<sup>76</sup> The Hilāl were also involved in the battle of al-Muṣayyakh shortly afterwards.<sup>77</sup> The eloquent and illiterate Ayyūb ibn al-Qirriyya (Umayyad period) was referred to by the double *nisba* al-Namarī al-Hilālī, which indicates that he too belonged to the same subdivision.<sup>78</sup> Ayyūb lived not far from ‘Ayn al-Tamr.<sup>79</sup> There was also a pre-Islamic Ibn al-Qirriyya among the Namir, namely Ibn al-Qirriyya *al-akbar* or “the elder” whose name was Kulayb ibn Mālīk. His granddaughter Natla or Nutayla bore ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib his sons ‘Abbās and ʿDirār.<sup>80</sup> Al-Qirriyya was the mother of Banū ‘Amr ibn ‘Āmir (...ibn ‘Āmir al-Ḍaḥyān).<sup>81</sup> She is supposed to have been the first Arab woman to provide a carpet for covering the Ka‘ba, following a vow she made when little ‘Abbās went missing.<sup>82</sup>

The famous genealogist al-Kayyis or Ibn al-Kayyis is said to have belonged to the Hilāl. Ibn al-Kalbī remarks with regard to al-Kayyis and three generations of his descendants, that all of them engaged in the study of genealogies (*kulluhum yansibu . . . ya‘nī kulluhum nassābūna ya‘malūna l-nasab*). For several generations genealogical information about the Namir (and probably other tribes of the Rabī‘a as well) was transmitted from father to son within this family of genealogists.<sup>83</sup> Ibn al-Kayyis’s full name was Mālīk ibn ‘Ubayd ibn Sharāḥīl ibn al-Kayyis/Zayd ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Hilāl ibn Rabī‘a ibn Zayd Manāt ibn ‘Āmir al-Ḍaḥyān.<sup>84</sup> The name Hilāl in this pedigree indicates an affiliation to the Hilāl.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>76</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 580. In *Muḥabbar*, 479, his pedigree is much shorter: ‘Aqqa ibn Jusham ibn Hilāl. In Balādhurī, V (‘Abbās), 342, his name is given as ‘Aqqa ibn Qays ibn al-Bishr, with the following variant: Hilāl ibn ‘Aqqa ibn Qays.

<sup>77</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 2070 (*Banū l-Thawriyya min Banī Hilāl*); Ṭabarī, trans., XI, 63.

<sup>78</sup>*Bidāya*, IX, 54.

<sup>79</sup>As is shown by his meeting with the ‘*āmīl* of ‘Ayn al-Tamr at a time of drought; it led to his meeting with Ḥajjāj; Ibn Khallikān, I, 251. Ḥajjāj executed him for participating in Ibn al-Ash‘ath’s rebellion.

<sup>80</sup>*Ḥadhf min nasab Quraysh*, 5, who remarks that in the Jāhiliyya, Kulayb, a descendant of ‘Āmir al-Ḍaḥyān, used to receive the *mīrbā‘*.

<sup>81</sup>*Nasab Quraysh*, 18.

<sup>82</sup>*Kasatī l-bayta l-ḥarām l-ḥarīr wa-l-dībāj wa-aṣnāfa l-kuswa*; *Istī‘āb*, II, 811.

<sup>83</sup>Aṣma‘ī lists al-Kayyis al-Namarī among the four famous genealogists; *TMD*, XVII, 301. On al-Kayyis al-Namarī see Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, I, 365. The conjurer ‘Ubayd al-Kayyis (Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, IV, 372) is irrelevant for us here. According to Qalqashandī, *Nihāya*, 288, Abū l-Kayyis (!) was of the Sa‘d ibn ‘Awf and his name was ‘Ubayd ibn Mālīk ibn Sharāḥīl ibn al-Kayyis. In his introduction, Qalqashandī, *Nihāya*, 9–10, quotes Abū ‘Ubayda who mentions Zayd ibn al-Kayyis of the ‘Awf ibn Sa‘d ibn Tha‘lab (*sic*) ibn Wā‘il.

<sup>84</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 301. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 580–81, has a different pedigree.

<sup>85</sup>Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 322. Jāḥiẓ calls him Zayd ibn al-Kayyis, quoting a verse by Simāk al-‘Ikrimī which associates Daghfal with *akhū Hilāl* or the Hilālī, interpreted by Jāḥiẓ as a reference to Zayd ibn al-Kayyis; Jāḥiẓ has two more verses in this context: while a verse by Miskīn al-Dārimī has al-Kayyis al-Namarī, another verse, by Thābit Quṭna, mentions *akhū Bakr* (=Daghfal) and *Zayd banī Hilāl*. Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 334, calls the genealogist Ibn al-Kayyis al-Namarī. Ibn al-Kayyis al-Namarī is quoted in *Akhbār ṭiwāl*, 7, with regard to Qaḥṭān. Also a verse by

A subgroup of the Namir was called al-Khazraj.<sup>86</sup> A poet of the Namir called Dithār (not to be confused with the above mentioned Dithār ibn Shaybān) belonged to a subdivision called Huyayy.<sup>87</sup> The Jusham ibn Zayd Manāt owned a mountain in the territory (*diyār*) of the Namir called al-ʿAlāt (in Yamāma).<sup>88</sup>

While in terms of Islamic credentials the Aws Manāt ibn al-Namir line may have gained supremacy over the other genealogical lines of the Namir, the leading line was probably that of the Taymallāh ibn al-Namir. One of its members was ʿĀmir al-Ḍaḥyān who was their chief (*sayyid*) and arbiter (*ḥākim*). He would sit in judgment in the early part of the forenoon, hence his nickname al-Ḍaḥyān or “the one exposing himself to the sun”.<sup>89</sup> ʿĀmir was the *sayyid* of Rabīʿa for forty years during which he took from them the *mirbāʿ* or one fourth of the booty.<sup>90</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī reports that the leadership of the Rabīʿa shifted among the Rabīʿa tribes. Leadership meant command on the battlefield, arbitration, the right to appoint the banner-carrier and entitlement to one fourth of the spoils (*al-riʿāsa wa-l-ḥukūma wa-l-liwāʾ wa-l-mirbāʿ*). When the leadership of the Rabīʿa reached the Namir, it was held by ʿĀmir al-Ḍaḥyān. After his long term in this role he was killed by a man of the ʿAbd al-Qays called Kaʿb ibn al-Ḥārith. Having received half of the ransom agreed upon, the Namir murdered the four ʿAbd al-Qays hostages whom they held as a guarantee for the delivery of the other half. In the internecine war that followed the Namir joined forces with the rest of

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al-Kumayt has Ibn al-Kayyis al-Namarī; Zamakhsharī, *Mustaqṣā*, I, 253 (with reference to the saying *aʿlam min Dagħfal*). Finally, the poet al-Quṭāmī mentions in a verse Dagħfal and Zayd, that is to say Zayd ibn al-Kayyis; Maydānī, *Amthāl*, I, 19; *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 146 (Zayd of the Hilāl ibn Rabīʿa who is al-Kayyis al-Namarī). Cf. Caskel, I, 46; II, 601, s.v. Zaid ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kayyis. The *Fihrist* (ed. Ṭawīl), 143, specifically mentions among the sources of ʿAbīd/ʿUbayd ibn Sharya: al-Kayyis al-Namarī and his son, Zayd ibn al-Kayyis.

<sup>86</sup>See the *nisba* al-Namarī al-Khazrajī in al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi bi-l-wafayāt*, XXVII, 370, s.v. Hilāl al-Namarī al-Khazrajī. *Munammaq*, 256–57, mentions Banū l-Khazraj of the Namir in connection with the capture of the Prophet’s Companion Ṣuhayb ibn Sinān (on whom see below) by the Byzantines. Note, however, that the Khazraj were of the Taymallāh (Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 578), while Ṣuhayb was reportedly of the Aws Manāt. On the tribal groups of the Namir, particularly those living in the vicinity of Aleppo (both sedentary and nomadic), see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya* (facs.), I, 483 (Banū al-Khazraj ibn Taymallāh, *wa-mīna l-Khazraj tafarraʿat buṭūnu l-Khazraj wa-afkhādhuhā*; Saʿd, *qabīla kabīra*; ʿĀmir al-Ḍaḥyān, *qabīla . . . wa-l-bayt fihi; fa-min wuldihi: ʿĀmir ibn Hilāl, qabīla, wa-huwa Hilāl ibn ʿĀmir ibn Saʿd ibn al-Khazraj ibn Taymallāh; ahl Kafrayyā . . .*). For the war of al-Ḍaḥyān in which the Ḥārith ibn Taymallāh ibn al-Namir were wiped out (*ubīrū*), see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 578.

<sup>87</sup>See the *hijāʾ* verses in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Judāl and s.v. Sinjār; Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, III, 1230. The Huyayy could either be the Huyayy ibn Zayd Manāt or the Huyayy ibn Rabīʿa ibn Zayd Manāt; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 579, 580, respectively. ʿAmr ibn ʿUthmān al-Namarī was of the Banū Ṭāriq (obviously a subgroup of the Namir); Mizzī, XXII, 386.

<sup>88</sup>Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.

<sup>89</sup>*Wa-kāna yajlisu lahum idhā adḥā l-nahār fa-summiya l-ḍaḥyān*; *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), XIII, 140. ʿĀmir al-Ḍaḥyān is listed among the *ḥukkām al-ʿarab* in Yaʿqubī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 258; *Muḥabbar*, 135.

<sup>90</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 301.

the Rabīʿa against the ʿAbd al-Qays.<sup>91</sup> The small genealogical treatise in which Ibn al-Kalbī's account is preserved, namely *al-Inbāḥ ʿalā qabāʾil al-ruwāt*, was compiled by Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, himself a Namarī.<sup>92</sup> The reports glorifying ʿĀmir al-Ḍaḥyān may also reflect an Abbasid bias since he was the ancestor of ʿAbbās's mother.

A prominent Companion who claimed to have been of the Namir was Ṣuhayb ibn Sinān al-Namarī.<sup>93</sup> He was also known as al-Rūmī or “the Byzantine”, reportedly because he spent some time in Byzantium. Ṣuhayb was kidnapped from Nineveh near Mosul when he was still a boy and ended up in Mecca before the advent of Islam. His father or uncle is supposed to have been Khusro's governor in Ubulla.<sup>94</sup> According to another report,<sup>95</sup> it was the king of Ḥīra, al-Nuʿmān ibn al-Mundhir, who appointed Ṣuhayb's father in Ubulla. Some association with southern Iraq is suggested by the fact that Ṣuhayb's mother was of the ʿAmr ibn Tamīm who lived in the same area.

Namarī partisanship on Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr's side is evident with regard to Ṣuhayb's origin since Ṣuhayb was the most important figure in the genealogy of the Namir. Ṣuhayb's affiliation to the Namir, disputed by some,<sup>96</sup> was for Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr beyond doubt, and in his Companion dictionary he emphasized that there was no dispute over it. Ṣuhayb received the nickname al-Rūmī or “the Byzantine” since he learned the language of the Byzantines, having been taken captive as a young boy.<sup>97</sup> Now Ṣuhayb certainly did not sound like an Arab: when he called his slave Yuḥannas, it sounded *yā nās*.<sup>98</sup> In addition, Ṣuhayb's complexion did not point to Arab descent, since it was white (*aḥmar shadīd al-ḥumra*).<sup>99</sup> That his complexion suggested non-Arab forebears is shown by the Prophet's declaration: “I was sent to the white and the black” (*buʿithtu ilā l-aḥmar wa-l-abyaḍ*), in other words, to all mankind. One assumes that the name Ṣuhayb was in fact a nickname (“the small one having redness intermixed

<sup>91</sup>Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *Inbāḥ*, 97–99, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī.

<sup>92</sup>A passage in *Ḥadhf min nasab Quraysh*, 5–6, establishes the link between expenditure and profit with regard to the *mirbāʿ* (*wa-kāna ʿĀmir al-Ḍaḥyān yarbaʿu Rabīʿa* [printed: *rabiʿahu!*] *wa-huwa fī baytihi lā yaghzū . . . wa-kānati l-jāhiliyya yaʿkhudhu l-raʿīs idhā ghazā l-rubʿ wa-ʿalayhi l-zād wa-l-mazād*). Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (*Inbāḥ*, 99–100) refutes the claim that the Namir descended from Ḥimyar.

<sup>93</sup>Ibn Sīrīn is quoted as saying: *Ṣuhayb mina l-ʿarab mina l-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ*; *TMD*, XXIV, 213.

<sup>94</sup>*Nubalāʾ*, II, 17–18, 20. See a detailed entry on Ṣuhayb in *TMD*, XXIV, 209–45. Ṣuhayb defended himself against ʿUmar's accusation that he was a Byzantine; *TMD*, XXIV, 238–242. According to *Munammaq*, 257, Ṣuhayb's brother Mālik ibn Sinān was Khusro's governor in Ubulla.

<sup>95</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 578.

<sup>96</sup>In the list of Badrīs from the Banū Taym, quoted from Ibn Lahīʿa < Abū l-Aswad < ʿUrwa, it was added after his name: *wa-yazʿumūna annahu mina l-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ*; *TMD*, XXIV, 233.

<sup>97</sup>*Istīʿāb*, II, 726.

<sup>98</sup>*Nubalāʾ*, II, 20. Cf. *Ḥilya*, I, 153.

<sup>99</sup>*Istīʿāb*, II, 728. Also *TMD*, XXIV, 214.

with his whiteness”). Indeed, Ṣuhayb was neither tall nor short, but “closer to shortness” (*wa-huwa ilā l-qīṣar aqrab*).<sup>100</sup> The claim that Ṣuhayb was of Arab stock stands in opposition to a famous saying attributed to Muḥammad in which Ṣuhayb represents the Byzantines: Muḥammad himself was the first Arab to enter Paradise, while Ṣuhayb was the first Byzantine, Salmān al-Fārisī the first Persian and Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ the first Ethiopian. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr who quotes this saying in his Companion dictionary does not comment on the discrepancy between the claim of Arab descent and the Prophet’s saying.<sup>101</sup> It is probably relevant for us here that Ṣuhayb had many descendants (*‘aqib kathīr*) in Medina;<sup>102</sup> presumably they were active in disseminating reports about their famous ancestor.<sup>103</sup> We clearly see the involvement of Ṣuhayb’s offspring with regard to another detail in his remarkable biography. Usually it is reported that Ṣuhayb was sold in Mecca as a slave. However, his family (*ahl Ṣuhayb wa-wulduhu*) claimed that he escaped from the Byzantines when he came of age and arrived in Mecca of his own free will.<sup>104</sup>

While Ṣuhayb is invariably mentioned in the genealogies of the Namir, Ḥumrān ibn Abān, a prominent figure in early Islamic history, appears in only some of them. Ḥumrān, who was captured during the Conquests in ‘Ayn al-Tamr, is supposed to have been Ṣuhayb’s relative. But it is doubtful that Ḥumrān, said to have been of Jewish origin, was an Arab, since the claim of Arab descent originated with his offspring.<sup>105</sup> As in Ṣuhayb’s case tribal experts on genealogy, followed by professional genealogists, readily adopted these claims. Like the name Ṣuhayb, Ḥumrān too must have been a nickname. Their detailed pedigrees notwithstanding, it is doubtful that the two were Arabs.<sup>106</sup> Ḥumrān’s father was

<sup>100</sup> *Istī‘āb*, II, 728.

<sup>101</sup> *Istī‘āb*, II, 729. For the full version, including the mention of the Prophet, see e.g. *TMD*, XXIV, 220.

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 300.

<sup>103</sup> Eight sons of his are listed among those who transmitted *ḥadīth* from him; *TMD*, XXIV, 209. *Ibid*, 227, a great-grandson of Ṣuhayb quotes his father and paternal uncles (*‘umūma*) < Sa‘īd ibn al-Musayyab < Ṣuhayb, for the story of Ṣuhayb’s Hijra. Regarding the lengths to which the family tradition was prepared to go, see *ibid*: Ibn Zabāla quotes from a great-great-grandson of Ṣuhayb, ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd ibn Ziyād ibn Ṣayfī ibn Ṣuhayb < his father < his grandfather < Ṣuhayb, that it was the Prophet’s intention to go out to the Hijra with Ṣuhayb, but Abū Bakr found Ṣuhayb praying and did not want to disturb him(!). Ibn Zabāla (< ‘Alī ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd) has a whole cycle of reports on Ṣuhayb. See also *ibid*, 230 (Ṣuhayb complains to Abū Bakr and the Prophet).

<sup>104</sup> *TMD*, XXIV, 215. On his escape see also *ibid*, 230. It should however be observed that not only Ṣuhayb’s offspring and the Namir in general stood to benefit from the establishing of an Arab genealogy for Ṣuhayb; it was also the interest of his Qurashī masters, the Taym ibn Murra, who thereby gained another Arab on the list of Badrīs from among them.

<sup>105</sup> *Wa-’dda‘ā wulduhu fī l-Namir ibn Qāṣit*; *Iṣāba*, II, 180; Ibn Sa‘d, V, 283 (where he is listed among the *mawālī*); Morony, *Iraq*, 222, assumes that “[s]ome of the Arabs at ‘Ayn Tamr seem to have been Jewish”; but this appears to be farfetched. Arab descent was invented by the offspring.

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 301, says that Ḥumrān “whom the people call *mawlā ‘Uthmān*” was

called Abbā, but his descendants replaced this name by the Arab name Abān; the descendants also claimed that he was of the Namir.<sup>107</sup> At this point the tribal interest matched the interests of the families involved, who wanted to assure their illustrious members or ancestors a respectable Arab genealogy.

A negative trait allegedly common to the Namir, that of a scornful attitude or disdain (*anaf*), appears in a report which seemingly sings their praises. It is put in the mouth of Salmān al-Fārisī and is quoted by Abū l-Ṣahbā' al-Namarī who is supposed to have met the former in al-Madā'in.<sup>108</sup>

Qatāda ibn Di'āma, himself of the Rabī'a, listed four of the Rabī'a who were Muhājirūn, among them one Namarī, 'Amr ibn Taghlib.<sup>109</sup> However, 'Amr's Namarī affiliation was disputed, and according to some he was of the 'Abd al-Qays.<sup>110</sup> The Islamic credentials of the Rabī'a as a whole are also the background of the statement that two of the Rabī'a participated in Badr, Ṣuhayb of the Namir and 'Amir ibn Rabī'a of the 'Anaza.<sup>111</sup>

Before Islam the Namir and the Taghlib whose territory bordered on Ḥīra were within the sphere of influence of the Sassanians and the Lakhmids of Ḥīra. The Namir fought alongside the Taghlib in the War of Basūs<sup>112</sup> and on the First Day of al-Kulāb, or the Kulāb of Rabī'a (after 530). The Namir also fought alongside the Taghlib and part of the Tamīm on Yawm Bāriq.<sup>113</sup>

A unique family link existed between the Namir, more precisely the Hilāl ibn Rabī'a, and the Lakhmids: Mā' al-Samā' of the Namir was the mother of the Lakhmid king al-Mundhir III (ca. 505–54). She was taken captive in a raid by al-Mundhir's father, Imru' al-Qays ibn 'Amr. Her father's pedigree (which is obviously too short) is given as 'Awf ibn Jusham ibn al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ.<sup>114</sup> The fact that al-Mundhir had a half-brother among the Namir did not go unnoticed by

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Ṣuhayb's paternal cousin. In fact, their pedigrees as given in this source met three generations before their own time: Ṣuhayb ibn Sinān ibn Mālik ibn 'Abd 'Amr ibn 'Aqīl; Ḥumrān ibn Abān ibn Khālīd ibn 'Abd 'Amr ibn 'Aqīl.

<sup>107</sup>*Nubalā'*, IV, 182–83.

<sup>108</sup>*Ta'rikh Baghdād*, XIV, 366, s.v. Abū l-Ṣahbā' al-Namarī (*wa-ni'ma l-ḥayyu ḥayyuka, hādḥa l-ḥayy min Rabī'a yu'tūna fī l-nā'iba wa-yaqrūna l-ḍayf lawlā l-anafu lladhī fihim wa-aẓunnuhu sa-yudrikuhum minhu mā yakrahūna*).

<sup>109</sup>*Iṣāba*, IV, 8 (printed Tha'lab). Cf. *Istī'āb*, I, 91 (four of the Bakr ibn Wā'il).

<sup>110</sup>Ibn Sa'd, VII, 67.

<sup>111</sup>See e.g. *al-Āḥād wa-l-mathānī*, III, 259.

<sup>112</sup>*Khizāna*, II, 169.

<sup>113</sup>Ibn Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 648.

<sup>114</sup>About the capture of Mā' al-Samā' of the Hilāl by the king of Ḥīra and the story of her former husband, Abū Ḥawṭ al-Ḥazā'ir, see *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, 151 (quoting Ibn al-Kalbī); Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqaq*, 334; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 95; *TMD*, XLIX, 304. But cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Inbāh*, 98–99, whose version is less colourful but more sympathetic to the Namir: Abū Ḥawṭ bought his fellow tribesmen and set them free. See also *Thimār qulūb*, 562.

the genealogists.<sup>115</sup> A member of the Hilāl, Bishr ibn Qays, was *radīf al-malik*;<sup>116</sup> the king in question was of course the king of Ḥīra.

One of the auxiliary Arab units on the Sassanian side at the Battle of Dhū Qār (around 605) included warriors from the Taghlib and the Namir under al-Nu‘mān ibn Zur‘a al-Taghlibī.<sup>117</sup> In the *rida* there were Namarīs among the troops who came from the Jazīra with Sajāḥ, the false prophetess of the Tamīm. A Namarī reportedly joined Musaylima after having declared him a liar, because “the liar of the Rabi‘a is more to our liking than the truthful man of the Muḍar” (viz. Muḥammad); or, in another version, “. . . than the liar of the Muḍar”.<sup>118</sup> On the other hand there is evidence of a Namarī, ‘Amr ibn Ḥazn, fighting alongside Thumāma ibn Uthāl who was on the Muslim side.<sup>119</sup> During the *rida* a whole subdivision of the Namir, the Aws Manāt ibn al-Namir ibn Qāsiṭ under Labīd ibn ‘Utba, was reportedly eradicated (*ubīrū*) by Khālīd ibn al-Walīd.<sup>120</sup> In ‘Ayn al-Tamr during the Conquests the Namir were among the Arab auxiliaries of the Sassanians. A large force under ‘Aqqa ibn Abī ‘Aqqa of the Hilāl (obviously identical with the above mentioned ‘Aqqa ibn Qays of the Hilāl) was defeated there by Khālīd. It was made up of Christians of the Namir, the Taghlib and the Iyād.<sup>121</sup> Two Namarīs were killed by Jarīr ibn ‘Abdallāh who fought under Khālīd ibn al-Walīd at al-Muṣayyakh between Ḥawrān and al-Qalt. They had reportedly embraced Islam at the hands of Abū Bakr and held a letter confirming this from him. One of the two, ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā ibn Abī Ruhm of the Aws Manāt, had received the name ‘Abdallāh from Abū Bakr. Abū Bakr reportedly paid their blood-wit. ‘Umar bore a grudge against Khālīd because of this incident, but Abū Bakr argued that the slain men were to blame since they should not have lived among the *ahl al-ḥarb*.<sup>122</sup> Later during the Conquests Christians of the Namir under Anas ibn Hilāl al-Namarī fought with al-Muthannā ibn Ḥāritha against the Sassanians at the battle of al-Buwayb (near Ḥīra).<sup>123</sup> Beforehand Anas ibn Hilāl came with a troop of the Namir to ‘Umar who sent them to Iraq together with other tribal troops under the command of Jarīr ibn ‘Abdallāh.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>115</sup>On Ḥawṭ al-Ḥazā‘ir see *Lisān al-‘Arab*, VII, 280, s.v. *ḥ.w.t.* According to Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 580, Jābir ibn Abī Ḥawṭ *al-khayr* (or “the good Abū Khayr”) was al-Mundhir’s half-brother.

<sup>116</sup>Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Inbāh*, 98; *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, 151.

<sup>117</sup>Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Qār. Cf. Mas‘ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 241, who has it that Bishr ibn Sawāda led the Taghlib while Aws ibn al-Khazraj al-Namarī led the Namir.

<sup>118</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 1936–37 (Sayf ibn ‘Umar); cf. Ṭabarī, trans., X, 112 (where *kadhḥāb Muḍar* is rendered “a veracious person of Muḍar”).

<sup>119</sup>*Iṣāba*, IV, 621 (Sayf ibn ‘Umar).

<sup>120</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 578; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 301.

<sup>121</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 2062–64; Ṭabarī, trans., XI, 53–57; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Bishr. On Khālīd’s attack on the Namir in Qurāqir see *TMD*, II, 89.

<sup>122</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 2070–71; cf. Ṭabarī, trans., XI, 63–64 (where *ahl al-ḥarb* is rendered “an army”).

<sup>123</sup>Ṭabarī, I, 2190, 2192; Ṭabarī, trans., XI, 204, 206.

<sup>124</sup>*Akhbār ṭiwāl*, 114.

Some Namarīs who converted to Islam during the Conquests settled in Kūfa together with members of the Taghlib and the Iyād. Those of the Taghlib who decided to embrace Islam shifted (*hājara*) to Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ in Madāʾin together with the Namir and Iyād who obeyed them. At a later stage they moved with Saʿd to Kūfa where they were allotted plots of land.<sup>125</sup> Members of these very tribes, Iyād, Taghlib and Namir, who fought with the Sassanians at Takrīt turned the town over to the Muslim besiegers.<sup>126</sup> We often find the Namir coupled with the Taghlib as secondary partners.<sup>127</sup>

Several decades later, at the Battle of Ṣiffīn between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya, there were Namarīs on both sides.<sup>128</sup> One assumes that this was so because control of the Jazīra which was their homeland was divided between ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya.

The old association between the Taghlib and Namir was still in place during the rebellion of Ibn al-Zubayr, when both tribes engaged in several battles in the Jazīra against the Qays ʿAylān.<sup>129</sup> In 126/744 Saʿīd ibn Baḥdal of the Namir rebelled in the Jazīra.<sup>130</sup> Finally, Khirāsha ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Namarī rebelled together with his Kalbī maternal uncles of the people of al-Mizza when Yazīd ibn al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik entered Damascus.<sup>131</sup>

Most Namarīs remained Christian for at least two centuries after the advent of Islam.<sup>132</sup> While there were early converts to Islam among them, it is not clear when most of them became Muslim. Presumably their conversion was gradual and continued for the first four centuries of Islam.

<sup>125</sup> *Wa-khattū maʿahu baʿdu bi-l-Kūfa*; Ṭabarī, I, 2482; cf. Ṭabarī, trans., XIII, 62 (“... assisted him in the planning of al-Kūfah”).

<sup>126</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2474–76; Ṭabarī, trans., XIII, 54–56; Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest*, 26.

<sup>127</sup> Camels belonging to Taghlib and Namir were captured during the Conquests at al-Fayyūm; Ṭabarī, I, 2245; Ṭabarī, trans., XII, 41. Al-Fayyūm is close to Hīt; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Fayyūm. The Taghlib and Namir were also attacked by the Muslims at Ṣiffīn; Ṭabarī, I, 2206–207; Ṭabarī, trans., XI, 219.

<sup>128</sup> On his way to Ṣiffīn ʿAlī was joined by many warriors of the Taghlib and Namir; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 187. At Ṣiffīn the commander (*raʾs*) of the Namir who fought on ʿAlī’s side was ʿAbdallāh ibn ʿAmr of the Taymallāh ibn al-Namir; Ṭabarī, I, 3315; Ṭabarī, trans., XVII, 62; *Waqʿat Ṣiffīn*, 304 (read Taym instead of Tamīm). A close Namarī companion of ʿAlī was Aws ibn Qays whom ʿAlī renamed al-Jārūd; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 577 (*wa-kāna qad ṣaḥībahu*); *Nasab Maʿadd*, I, 96. On the Namarī unit on Muʿāwiya’s side see *Akhbār ṭiwāl*, 172.

<sup>129</sup> Ibn Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 311 (Yawm al-Tharthār al-Awwal), 312 (Yawm al-Tharthār al-Thānī), 313 (Yawm al-Sukayr). A poet of the Namir boasted that at al-Tharthār the Namir persevered, while the Taghlib fled; *Muʿjam mā staʿjam*, s.v. al-Tharthār, I, 338–39. The Taghlibī group Bakr ibn Jusham had *aḥlāf* or allies from the Namir; *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), XII, 205.

<sup>130</sup> Khalifa, *Taʾrīkh*, II, 563.

<sup>131</sup> *TMD*, XVI, 330.

<sup>132</sup> Cf. the major conversion movement among the Taghlib in the second half of the 3rd/9th century; below, 45. On Christianity among the Namir, see Trimingham, *Christianity*, 176–77.

### 3 Salūl (Khuzā'a)

Salūl is the name of two tribal groups in northern Arabia: a branch of the Khuzā'a and a branch of the Hawāzin who were part of the Qays 'Aylān.<sup>133</sup> The lineage of the Khuzā'a branch called Salūl was: Salūl ibn Ka'b ibn 'Amr ibn Rabī'a ibn Ḥāritha. The genealogists list the following descendants of Salūl as eponyms of tribal groups (employing the term *batn*): Qumayr ibn Ḥabshiya;<sup>134</sup> Ḥulayl ibn Ḥabshiya, including the numerous descendants of Abū Ghubshān who formed many tribal groups; Ḍaṭīr ibn Ḥabshiya; Kulayb ibn Ḥabshiya; al-Ḥizmir<sup>135</sup> ibn Salūl; 'Adī ibn Salūl; Ḥabtar ibn 'Adī; and Hanī'a ibn 'Adī.<sup>136</sup>

There are two indications, both related to blood-revenge, that before Islam the Qumayr were the leading group among the Salūl, and possibly among the Ka'b ibn 'Amr as a whole. First, one of the Qumayr, 'Amr ibn Khālid, vowed that he would not let the blood of a Ka'bī go unavenged.<sup>137</sup> Second, when al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīra of Makhzūm (Quraysh) died of an injury caused by a Khuzā'i (who was either of the Qumayr or of the Hanī'a), it was again a member of the Qumayr, Busr ibn Sufyān, who intervened in the ensuing crisis. Busr guaranteed the payment of the blood-money agreed upon (a compromise was struck and the Khuzā'a did not admit responsibility for al-Walīd's death). Busr even gave Quraysh a son of his as hostage, but Khālid ibn al-Walīd who was the victim's son sent the boy back.<sup>138</sup>

The crisis over al-Walīd's blood-money is illuminating with regard to Mecca's internal politics on the eve of Islam. One assumes that in the dispute, the Banū Hāshim supported the Khuzā'a: the Ka'b ibn 'Amr of Khuzā'a, to whom the Salūl belonged, had an alliance with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim.<sup>139</sup> In this alliance, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the most important figure on the Qurashī side (several other Hāshimīs and several Muṭṭalibīs are also mentioned in this context). On the Khuzā'i side we find, among others, representatives of the following Salūlī subdivisions: Qumayr, Ḍaṭīr and Ḥabtar. As usual in tribal alliances, marriage links were created. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib married on that day the daughters of two of the Khuzā'i leaders who were party to the alliance, i.e., the representatives of Ḍaṭīr and Ḥabtar. The former bore him the famous Abū Lahab,<sup>140</sup> while the

<sup>133</sup>On the obscure origin of the Khuzā'a see Kister, "Notes on Caskel's *Ġamharat an-nasab*", 54–55; Caskel, II, 39–41.

<sup>134</sup>Variants: Ḥabshiyya, Ḥabashiyya, Ḥubshiyya; I follow here *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, 133; *Īnās*, 109. Cf. *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih*, III, 67.

<sup>135</sup>Variants: al-Ḥirmiz, al-Ḥurmuz; see *Īnās*, 123.

<sup>136</sup>See also Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 468–73. Cf. Caskel, I, 198, 199; *Iqd*, III, 383. Hanī'a's mother is said to have been the daughter of Salūl ibn Ṣaṣa'a (*Nasab Ma'add*, II, 446), which points to a link between these and the other Salūl (below, 29).

<sup>137</sup>*Nasab Ma'add*, II, 441.

<sup>138</sup>*Nasab Ma'add*, II, 447; *Iṣāba*, I, 293; *Munammaq*, 191–99; Ibn Hishām, II, 52–54.

<sup>139</sup>*Munammaq*, 192–93 (*wa-kāna li-Banī Ka'b ibn 'Amr ḥilf min 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim*).

<sup>140</sup>See also Rubin, "Abū Lahab and sūra cxi", 16.



latter bore him al-Ghaydāq. In other words, two of the Prophet's paternal uncles were the sons of Salūlī women.<sup>141</sup> The Makhzūmī position in the dispute over al-Walīd's blood-money was supported by the *Aḥābīsh* who at some stage were called upon by the Makhzūm to intervene.<sup>142</sup>

The most important role played by the Salūl before Islam was associated with Mecca in general and the Ka'ba in particular. Their eponym Salūl is said to have been a custodian (*ḥājib*) of the Ka'ba, and the same is said about his son Ḥabshiya ibn Salūl and his grandson Ḥulayl ibn Ḥabshiya, who, according to some, was the last Khuzā'ī custodian of the Ka'ba. According to others, the last custodian was Ḥulayl's son al-Muḥtarish, better known by his *kunya* Abū Ghubshān. (But according to yet another claim, Abū Ghubshān belonged to the Milkān branch of the Khuzā'a.)<sup>143</sup>

There are several versions concerning the transference of authority over the Ka'ba, and over the affairs of Mecca in general, from the Khuzā'a to Quraysh, more specifically to Muḥammad's ancestor Quṣayy ibn Kilāb. For example, it is reported that Abū Ghubshān sold his rights to Quṣayy. The alleged sale is the background of the popular saying, "Incurring more loss than Abū Ghubshān's deal" (*akhsar min ṣafqat Abī Ghubshān*). This version of the story was promulgated by people fanatically hostile to the so-called Southern tribes (*fa-yaqūlu l-muta'asṣibūna 'alā l-Yamāniyya inna Quṣayyan shtarā l-miftāḥ . . .*)<sup>144</sup> — obviously, the Khuzā'a figure here as a Southern tribe. The Khuzā'a could not remain indifferent to the way in which this crucial chapter of their pre-Islamic history was recounted: Wāqidī concludes one of the variants of this version with a statement that it was denied by the elders of the Khuzā'a.<sup>145</sup> The Khuzā'īs stated that Ḥulayl ibn Ḥabshiya bequeathed to his son-in-law Quṣayy the authority over the Ka'ba and Mecca. Their version is attested, for instance, in an autobiographical report going back to the Prophet's Companion Khirāsh ibn Umayya of the Salūl.<sup>146</sup> Ibn Ishāq quoted the Khuzā'ī claim (*wa-Khuzā'a taz'umu*), adding that he had not heard this from non-Khuzā'ī sources.<sup>147</sup> The dispute over this matter no doubt dates back to the earliest days of Islamic historiography and might even be pre-Islamic.

<sup>141</sup> Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, 16–17; al-Balādhurī, I, 71–72; Kister, "Strangers", 151. On al-Ghaydāq cf. Kister, "Strangers", 140; Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 129.

<sup>142</sup> *Munammaq*, 195–96. The Muṣṭaliq must have been in a difficult situation: on the one hand, they were part of the *Aḥābīsh*, while on the other they had an alliance with 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib: among the Khuzā'a leaders who concluded an alliance with the Prophet's grandfather there was also a representative of the Muṣṭaliq; see Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, 16.

<sup>143</sup> See *Shifā' al-gharām*, II, 85–86.

<sup>144</sup> *Īnās*, 114.

<sup>145</sup> *Wa-qad ra'aytu mashyakhata Khuzā'a tunkiru hādhā; Shifā' al-gharām*, II, 87.

<sup>146</sup> *Shifā' al-gharām*, II, 114 (*... awṣā Ḥulayl 'inda mawtihi bi-wilāyat al-bayt wa-amr Makka ilā Quṣayy*).

<sup>147</sup> Ibn Hishām, I, 124.

A prominent feature of the Salūl, concerning which there was continuity from the pre-Islamic period to at least the second century A.H., was the *qiyāfa*, i.e., the science of physiognomancy and the examination of traces on the ground. It was a Salūlī, Kurz ibn ‘Alqama, who allegedly tracked the Prophet and Abū Bakr when they left Mecca for the Hijra. Upon viewing the Prophet’s footprint, Kurz recognized it as being similar to that of Abraham at the *maqām Ibrāhīm* (*hādhihi l-qadam*, he said, *min tilka l-qadami llatī fī l-maqām*); according to the science of *qiyāfa*, this similarity indicated that the Prophet was descended from Abraham. Later, at the time of Mu‘āwiya, Kurz reinstated the marks indicating the boundaries of the sacred territory of Mecca (*ma‘ālim al-ḥaram*, or *anṣāb al-ḥaram*).<sup>148</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī remarks that in his own time Kurz’s descendants were still trackers in Mecca.<sup>149</sup>

Since the Salūl, and the Banū Ka‘b ibn ‘Amr in general, lived in the vicinity of Mecca (there is mention of ‘Usfān, al-Zahrān, Qudayd and Arāk), they played an important role in the struggle between the Prophet and Mecca. Mu‘attib ibn ‘Awf of the Salūl, more precisely of the Kulayb, fought in the Battle of Badr, but this does not indicate the beginning of his tribe’s involvement in the struggle since he was the client (*ḥalīf*) of the Makhzūm,<sup>150</sup> or rather of one of the Prophet’s Makhzūmī Companions, perhaps Abū Salama ibn ‘Abd al-Asad.

Khīrāsh ibn Umayya of the Kulayb was also the client (*ḥalīf*) of the Makhzūm. He provides a valuable lead with regard to Salūl’s role in the Muraysī expedition which took place several months, or more than a year, before the Ḥudaybiyya expedition.<sup>151</sup> An account of a small episode during the Muraysī expedition reveals that Khīrāsh was there, probably together with other Salūlīs. The party attacked by the Muslims at al-Muraysī was of the Muṣṭaliq, who, like the Salūl themselves, were a subdivision of the Khuzā‘a. A member of the Muṣṭaliq, ‘Āmir ibn Abī Ḍirār, who was the brother of their leader al-Ḥārith ibn Abī Ḍirār, struck one of the Anṣār with an arrow (and probably killed him). In a display of Khuzā‘ī solidarity Khīrāsh threw himself on ‘Āmir to protect him from the Anṣār who wanted to kill him.<sup>152</sup> This episode points to military cooperation between the Salūl and the Prophet some time before Ḥudaybiyya. In other words, the Prophet was presumably playing one branch of the Khuzā‘a against the other. In order to place this expedition in the correct historical context it should be kept in mind that the Muṣṭaliq (and their brother clan Ḥayā) belonged to the *Aḥābīsh*.<sup>153</sup> This

<sup>148</sup> *Iṣāba*, V, 583–84; Caskel, II, 374.

<sup>149</sup> *Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 444.

<sup>150</sup> Ibn Sa‘d, III, 264–65; Wāqidī, I, 155, 341; Ibn Hishām, II, 339.

<sup>151</sup> Cf. Jones, “The chronology of the *maghāzī*”, 254.

<sup>152</sup> *Uṣd al-ghāba*, II, 108, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī; *Iṣāba*, II, 269–70.

<sup>153</sup> *Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 455; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 616; *Muḥabbar*, 246 (where the *Aḥābīsh* are said to have been in a certain battle allied with the Banū ‘Abd Manāf). On the role of ‘Abd Manāf in this alliance see also *Munammaq*, 230–31.

conforms perfectly with the statement that the Muṣṭaliq and the Ḥayā were the only Khuzāʿī groups who did not have an alliance with the Prophet.<sup>154</sup>

From the expedition of Ḥudaybiyya in 6/628 onwards the Salūl, or in any case many of them, were clearly on the Prophet's side. At Ḥudaybiyya Khirāsh ibn Umayya was in the Prophet's camp. He was sent to Mecca as an envoy and was nearly killed by ʿIkrima ibn Abī Jahl of the Makhzūm.<sup>155</sup> But a more prominent role at Ḥudaybiyya was played by Busr ibn Sufyān.<sup>156</sup> Busr's status as a tribal leader meant that when he threw in his lot with the Prophet some time before Ḥudaybiyya, he had the backing of a considerable force.

With regard to the Prophet's conquest of Mecca in 8/630 it is reported that Busr, who was of the Qumayr, and Budayl ibn Umm Aṣram of the Ḥabtar (whose grandmother was of the Banū Hāshim) were sent to the Kaʿb in order to summon them to the expedition.<sup>157</sup> They were presumably sent to the Qumayr and Ḥabtar respectively. A large troop of the Kaʿb divided into three tribal units joined the Prophet at Qudayd, while other Kaʿbīs set out from Medina where they had arrived some time before the expedition.<sup>158</sup> However, not all of the Salūlīs were on the Prophet's side: while Busr ibn Sufyān is said to have converted to Islam in 6 A.H. (i.e., before Ḥudaybiyya) and to have spied for the Prophet in Mecca,<sup>159</sup> the above mentioned Kurz ibn ʿAlqama reportedly embraced Islam "on the day Mecca was conquered", i.e., he was not among the Salūlīs who helped the Prophet to conquer it.

Busr ibn Sufyān is mentioned as the recipient, or one of the recipients, of a letter from the Prophet.<sup>160</sup> In 9/630–31 the Prophet assigned Busr the collection of taxes from his own tribal group, the Banū Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr.<sup>161</sup>

In the Islamic period some of the Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr settled in Medina.<sup>162</sup> They included members of the Salūl: Qabīṣa ibn Dhuʿayb of the Qumayr, an official in

<sup>154</sup> *Wa-kānat Khuzāʿa kulluhā ḥilfan li-l-nabi illā Banī l-Ḥayā wa-l-Muṣṭaliq*; Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, 15–16.

<sup>155</sup> Wāqidī, II, 600. Then he participated in the expedition of Khaybar and in later expeditions; *Iṣāba*, II, 269–70. Khirāsh took part in the conquest of Mecca; Wāqidī, II, 843–45.

<sup>156</sup> Wāqidī, index; he is often called al-Kaʿbī with reference to Salūl's father, Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr. In Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 235, he is wrongly called Bishr ibn Ṣafwān.

<sup>157</sup> *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, 169. Cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Watīr; *Muʿjam mā staʿjam*, s.vv. Fāthūr and al-Watīr; ʿIṣāmī, *Simt*, II, 173–74.

<sup>158</sup> Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 143–44; Wāqidī, II, 800–801, 819; III, 896 (Ḥunayn), 990 (Tabūk).

<sup>159</sup> Ibn Mākūlā, I, 269.

<sup>160</sup> See *Majmūʿat al-wathāʿiq*, 275–77. Reportedly, the original letter was still extant around the beginning of the second century A.H.; *Iṣāba*, I, 292.

<sup>161</sup> Ibn Saʿd, II, 160. Cf. Wāqidī, III, 973–74 (another version has it that a Qurashī was the Kaʿb's tax collector).

<sup>162</sup> Ibn Shabba, I, 268 (the chapter is entitled *maḥall al-qabāʾil min al-muhājirīna*); Samhūdī, II, 765.

‘Abd al-Malik’s administration,<sup>163</sup> was originally from Medina.<sup>164</sup> The offspring of Khirāsh ibn Umayya of the Kulayb lived in Medina.<sup>165</sup>

At the time of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Qudayd and ‘Uṣfān north west of Mecca were still at the heart of Khuzā’a’s territory. It is reported that ‘Umar carried *dīwān Khuzā’a* to Qudayd, then to ‘Uṣfān, and every Khuzā’ī woman, virgin or not, would come and collect her dues.<sup>166</sup> This was probably true of the Salūl as well.

After the Conquests some of the Salūl settled in Iraq.<sup>167</sup> Others settled in Khurāsān: Mālīk ibn al-Haytham of the Qumayr was one of the *nuqabā’* of the Abbasid *da‘wa*, and two of his sons were in charge of the *shurṭa* in the early Abbasid period.<sup>168</sup> Mālīk’s brother, ‘Awf, was one of the *quwwād* of the *da‘wa* and a mosque in Cairo (*miṣr*) was named after him.<sup>169</sup> Kurz ibn ‘Alqama is said to have lived in ‘Asqalān.<sup>170</sup> However, many Salūlīs probably never left Arabia: al-Qalqashandī (d. 821/1418) reports that Barza near ‘Uṣfān was inhabited, among others, by the Salūl.<sup>171</sup>

<sup>163</sup>See e.g. Jahshiyārī, 34.

<sup>164</sup>*TMD*, XLIX, 250 (*aṣluhu mina l-Madīna*); see also Caskel, II, 454. His father who died at the time of Mu‘āwiya still lived in Qudayd; *Iṣāba*, II, 422.

<sup>165</sup>*Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 445. For a well in Mecca dug in Islamic times by Khirāsh or by another member of the Ka‘b, see Fākihī, IV, 115; V, map no. 3.

<sup>166</sup>Cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 452.

<sup>167</sup>*Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 445 (where a member of the Ḥizmir subdivision who was a *sharīf* in Iraq and a government official is mentioned); *Khuzā‘at al-Ḥijāz* and *Khuzā‘at al-‘Irāq* are mentioned, with reference to the time of ‘Abd al-Malik, in *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, 134.

<sup>168</sup>*Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 442; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 236; *Akhbār al-dawla al-‘Abbāsiyya*, 216; Ṭabarī, index. The prominent role played by the Khuzā’a and their *mawālī* in the *da‘wa* indicates that studying the post-Conquests history of this tribe will further our understanding of the *da‘wa*.

<sup>169</sup>*Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 442.

<sup>170</sup>*Iṣāba*, V, 584.

<sup>171</sup>For this place see Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, XIII (map), 148.

## 4 Salūl (Hawāzin)

The Salūl of the Hawāzin was either the nickname of Murra, son of Ṣaṣa'a ibn Mu'āwiya ibn Bakr ibn Hawāzin; or Salūl was Murra's slave girl (*umm walad*) after whom her children were called;<sup>172</sup> or she was the daughter of Dhuhl ibn Shaybān (the eponym of the Dhuhl) who was married to Murra ibn Ṣaṣa'a and bore him all his sons.<sup>173</sup> Others said that only some of the Murra were called Banū Salūl: Salūl bint Dhuhl was the mother of the Banū Jandal ibn Murra ibn Ṣaṣa'a.<sup>174</sup> In other words, the Banū Salūl were the descendants of Jandal ibn Murra. The genealogists list the following as eponyms of tribal groups: Jandal ibn Murra, 'Ammāra ibn Zābin, Hawza ibn 'Amr and Tamīma ibn 'Amr. The Salūl were not among the prestigious tribes.<sup>175</sup>

Qarada ibn Nufātha of the Salūl is said to have come to the Prophet in a delegation together with other Salūlīs. They embraced Islam and the Prophet declared Qarada their leader.<sup>176</sup> Abū Maryam Mālik ibn Rabī'a al-Salūlī reportedly gave the Prophet the pledge of allegiance at Ḥudaybiyya.<sup>177</sup>

After the Conquests some of the Salūl settled in Kūfa.<sup>178</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī mentions several Salūlī supporters of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib.<sup>179</sup> There were also Salūlīs in Mosul<sup>180</sup> and al-Andalus.<sup>181</sup> However, some of the Salūl still live in their old territory south of Ṭā'if, especially in wadi Bisha.<sup>182</sup> In the Islamic period the Salūl, or some of them, were probably incorporated in the famous 'Āmir ibn Ṣaṣa'a, perhaps as a result of the tribal settlement in the garrison cities.<sup>183</sup>

<sup>172</sup>See e.g. *Nasab Ma'add*, II, 446; Ash'arī, *Ansāb*, 81; *Khizāna*, IV, 442. Cf. Caskel, II, 509.

<sup>173</sup>*Wa-ummuhum Salūl bihā yu'rafūna*; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 379; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 271–72.

<sup>174</sup>Ḥāzimī, 'Ujāla, 74; *Īnās*, 186n.

<sup>175</sup>*Thimār qulūb*, 352 (on the death of 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl in the house of a Salūlī woman); *Nubalā'*, IV, 411; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, IV, 36.

<sup>176</sup>*Iṣāba*, V, 429–30. For another Salūlī, Nahik ibn Quṣayy, said to have come to the Prophet, see *Iṣāba*, VI, 477.

<sup>177</sup>*Iṣāba*, V, 724–25 (*shahida l-Shajara*).

<sup>178</sup>For the above mentioned Abū Maryam see Ibn Sa'd, VI, 37; Ibn Mākūlā, I, 227. See also Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Jabbāna; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 285. 'Abdallāh ibn Hammām al-Salūlī was in Kūfa at the time of Mu'āwiya; see e.g. *Aghānī*, XIV, 120.

<sup>179</sup>See also Thaqafī, *al-Ghārāt*, index, s.v. 'Āṣim ibn Ḍamra and Hind ibn 'Āṣim; *Iṣāba*, II, 13–14, s.v. Ḥubshī ibn Junāda.

<sup>180</sup>Cf. Abbott, "A new papyrus and a review of the administration of 'Ubad Allāh ibn al-Ḥabḥāb", 25. 'Ubaydallāh, a *mawlā* of the Salūl, was the ancestor of the Ḥabāḥiba who lived in Mosul, or of some of them; *Ta'rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 27.

<sup>181</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 272.

<sup>182</sup>Jāsir, "al-Shā'ir 'Abdallāh ibn Hammām al-Salūlī". Cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Bisha (*khayr diyār banī Salūl — Bisha*). Cf. Lyall, *The Dīwāns of 'Abīd ibn al-Abrāṣ and 'Āmir ibn aṭ-Ṭufayl*, 113–14.

<sup>183</sup>This development is reflected in the lineage of one of them, referred to as al-'Āmirī al-Salūlī, where 'Āmir is inserted between Murra and Ṣaṣa'a; *Iṣāba*, VI, 477, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, V, 44–45, s.v. Nahik ibn Quṣayy ... ibn Murra ibn 'Āmir ibn Ṣaṣa'a al-'Āmirī al-Salūlī.

## 5 Sulaym

An Arabian tribe, a branch of the so-called Northern Arabian federation of Qays ‘Aylān.<sup>184</sup> Its genealogy is given as: Sulaym ibn Manṣūr ibn ‘Ikrima ibn Khaṣafa ibn Qays ‘Aylān. The tribe’s territory was in the Ḥijāz. The *ḥarra* or basalt desert that was once called Ḥarrat Banī Sulaym and is now called Ḥarrat Ruhāt is roughly located at the centre of their former territory. The Ḥarra was easy to defend because cavalry could not operate in it, and the *ḥimās* or protected pasturing areas of the Sulaym were along its eastern and western slopes. The Baṣra and Kūfa pilgrim roads and the inland road between Mecca and Medina passed through Sulamī territory, which meant that both towns had to be on good terms with the Sulaym.<sup>185</sup>

The Sulaym were divided into three groups. The Imru’ al-Qays, perhaps the strongest one, lived on the eastern slopes of the Ḥarra and included three tribal groups: the Khufāf ibn Imri’ al-Qays which in turn contained ‘Uṣayya, Nāṣira, ‘Amīra and Mālik. The most prominent family among the ‘Uṣayya was the Sharīd. The Bahz ibn Imri’ al-Qays included Mecca’s rich ally, al-Ḥajjāj ibn ‘Ilāt, who owned the gold mines in the land of the Sulaym.<sup>186</sup> The ‘Awf ibn Imri’ al-Qays were divided into the Mālik ibn ‘Awf and the Sammāl ibn ‘Awf. The Mālik ibn ‘Awf included the following clans: Ri’l (led at the time of Muḥammad by al-‘Abbās ibn Anas), Maṭrūd and Qunfudh.

The Ḥārith subdivision lived on the western slopes of the Ḥarra. It contained the following tribal groups: Mu‘āwiya ibn al-Ḥārith, who settled in Medina before the arrival there of the Aws and Khazraj and in due course converted to Judaism; Ḍafar ibn al-Ḥārith, part of which was incorporated into the Aws; Rifā‘a ibn al-Ḥārith; Ka‘b ibn al-Ḥārith, one of whom was the last custodian of the idol Suwā‘;<sup>187</sup> and ‘Abs ibn Rifā‘a ibn al-Ḥārith, which included the Jāriya family. One of the Jāriya, the poet and warrior al-‘Abbās ibn Mirdās, worshipped an idol called Ḍ(i/a)mār. Muḥammad put al-‘Abbās in charge of levying the *ṣadaqa*-tax from the brother tribes Sulaym and Māzin. One of the ‘Abs was the last custodian of the idol al-‘Uzzā.

The Tha‘laba subdivision contained two tribal groups. The Mālik ibn Tha‘laba, also called Bajla after their mother, broke away from the Sulaym and

<sup>184</sup>See von Oppenheim, IV, index, s.v. Sulaim; Caskel, II, 18f., 517; ‘Abd al-Qaddūs al-Anṣārī, *Banū Sulaym*; Ṭayyib, *Mawsū‘at al-qabā’il*, I, 312, 350–56 (on Sulamī tribal groups in contemporary Saudi Arabia and their location; in this volume Ṭayyib also provides valuable information on Sulamī groups in North Africa and Egypt); Ban‘alī, *Majmū‘ al-faḍā’il* (on the recent history of Sulamīs in the Gulf area, on which see also ‘Abd al-Qaddūs al-Anṣārī, *Banū Sulaym*), 16, 76; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 395–408; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 261–64; Yāqūt, *Muqtaḍab*, 165–71; Balādhurī (MS), 1188a–98b.

<sup>185</sup>For the present boundaries of their territory and their villages see ‘Abd al-Qaddūs al-Anṣārī, *Banū Sulaym*, 24–26, 44–56, 79–83.

<sup>186</sup>Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 133–34; cf. Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 93–94.

<sup>187</sup>See above in this volume, no. III, 15 ff.

became the clients of the ‘Uqayl. Far more significant were the Dhakwān ibn Tha‘laba (also referred to as “Tha‘laba”) who on the eve of Islam were Mecca’s closest Sulamī allies. Before they formed an alliance with Mecca, one of them, Muḥammad ibn Khuzā‘ī, was reportedly crowned by Abraha and put in command of a troop from the Muḍar. The Dhakwān married into some of the most important Qurashī families and one of them, al-Ḥakīm ibn Umayya, officiated as *muḥtasib* in pre-Islamic Mecca. Reportedly, he supervised law and order with the consent of all the clans of Quraysh.<sup>188</sup> The Prophet’s Companion Ṣafwān ibn al-Mu‘aṭṭal<sup>189</sup> who lived in Medina was an exception among the Dhakwān.

Sulaym’s links with other Qays ‘Aylān tribes, above all the Hawāzin, were far closer than with other tribes. Among Sulaym’s pre-Islamic *ayyām* there were several long range expeditions into the Yemen as well as battles against tribes living in southwestern Arabia on the road to the Yemen. For instance, in order to carry out a raid against the Zubayd and Quḍā‘a, al-‘Abbās ibn Mirdās reportedly recruited warriors from all the clans of the Sulaym. In addition, a battle against Kinda took place near Ṣa‘da; on another occasion the Quḍā‘a killed, again near Ṣa‘da, a brother of al-‘Abbās ibn Mirdās. The Yemenī expeditions should possibly be linked to Sulaym’s activity in escorting caravans. Abū l-Baqā’ mentions that the Sulaym and Hawāzin used to conclude pacts with the kings of Ḥīra. They would take the kings’ merchandize and sell it for them in ‘Ukāẓ and in other markets.<sup>190</sup> These pre-Islamic expeditions, which involved other Qaysī tribes as well, are relevant to the debate about the origin of the Qays–Yaman antagonism.<sup>191</sup>

Before the advent of Islam and in its early days many Sulamīs were agriculturalists, a fact which may easily be overlooked because the bulk of the literary evidence concerns their military exploits. The 3rd/9th century geographer ‘Arrām al-Sulamī said about the Sulamī stronghold of al-Suwāriqiyya that it belonged to the Sulaym alone and that each of them had a share in it. It included fields, dates and other kinds of fruit. The Sulamīs born in al-Suwāriqiyya, he added, lived there while the others were nomadic (*bādiya*) and roamed around it, supplying food along the pilgrim roads. The description is basically true of pre-Islamic times as well.

Sulaym’s relations with Medina were friendly. Sulamīs brought horses, camels, sheep and clarified butter to the markets of Medina. An idol called Khamīs was worshipped by both the Sulaym and the Khazraj. Before Islam the Sulaym once intervened in the fighting between two clans of the Aws and at the time of

<sup>188</sup>Cook, *Commanding Right and Forbidding Wrong*, 564.

<sup>189</sup>Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 91–92, 111.

<sup>190</sup>See *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, II, 375 (*wa-kānat Sulaym wa-Hawāzin tuwāthiquhum wa-lā tadīnu lahum wa-ya’kudhūna lahumu l-tajā’ir fa-yabī’ūna lahum bi-‘Ukāẓ wa-ghayrihā fa-yuṣībūna ma’ahumu l-arbāḥ*).

<sup>191</sup>Cf. Crone, “Were the Qays and Yemen of the Umayyad period political parties?”.

Muḥammad al-ʿAbbās ibn Mirdās lamented the expulsion of the Jewish Naḍīr.<sup>192</sup>

The Sulaym played an important role in the struggle between Muḥammad and Quraysh. Under ʿĀmir ibn al-Ṭufayl (who was actually not a Sulamī but a member of the Jaʿfar ibn Kilāb) several Sulamī clans carried out the attack at Biʿr Maʿūna in 4/625.<sup>193</sup> At the Battle of Khandaq (5/627) the Sulaym under Sufyān ibn ʿAbd Shams of the Dhakwān still cooperated with Quraysh. However, by the time Muḥammad set out to conquer Mecca in Shaʿbān 8/January 630, the Sulaym or most of them had moved to his side. Several weeks later the Sulaym participated in the Battle of Ḥunayn with the exception of Abū l-Aʿwar (the son of Sufyān ibn ʿAbd Shams) who fought alongside the pagans.

At the time of Abū Bakr several clans of the Sulaym apostatized and were crushed by forces loyal to Medina. The rebels included the ʿUṣayya, especially the Sharīd family, the ʿAmīra (one of whom was the rebel al-Fujāʿa), the ʿAwf ibn Imriʾ al-Qays, the Jāriya family of the ʿAbs and perhaps the Dhakwān as well. Soon afterwards we find the Sulaym among the Muslim forces heading to Iraq and Syria.

Although there were no doubt Sulamīs among ʿAlī's supporters,<sup>194</sup> Sulaym's contribution to Muʿāwiya's success was fundamental. It should be observed at this point that the evidence about Sulaym's history in the first decades of Islam, and particularly during the time of Muḥammad, was influenced by their role in the ʿAlī—Muʿāwiya conflict. This can be illustrated by the dispute regarding the companion status of the aforementioned Abū l-Aʿwar who was one of Muʿāwiya's generals.<sup>195</sup>

Some Sulamīs appointed as governors in early Islam owed their nomination to Sulaym's pre-Islamic ties with Quraysh: the wealthy Companion ʿUtba ibn Farqad<sup>196</sup> (of the Rifāʿa ibn al-Ḥārith) whose mother was a Qurashī was closely connected with Mecca. In 20/641 ʿUmar appointed him as the governor of Mosul and later he made him governor of Adharbījān.

Abū l-Aʿwar (of the Dhakwān) whose mother and grandmother were Qurashīs was the governor of al-Urdunn under Muʿāwiya.<sup>197</sup>

ʿUbayda ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān (Dhakwān) was probably governor of Adharbījān under ʿUmar II. Under al-Walīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik he was governor of al-Urdunn and in 110/728 Hishām put him in charge of Ifrīqiya. ʿUbayda is said to have been Abū l-Aʿwar's nephew.<sup>198</sup> But his detailed pedigree<sup>199</sup> shows

<sup>192</sup>Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 105.

<sup>193</sup>Kister, "O God, tighten Thy grip on Muḍar...", 255–56; *idem*, "Biʿr Maʿūna".

<sup>194</sup>Cf. Witkam, "Arabic manuscripts in distress", 177.

<sup>195</sup>*Iṣāba*, IV, 641.

<sup>196</sup>Robinson, *Empire and Elites after the Muslim Conquest*, index.

<sup>197</sup>Kister, "Strangers", 134. The assumption that Abū l-Aʿwar's mother was Christian is based on a corrupt text; Ibn Rusta, 213; cf. *Muḥabbar*, 305.

<sup>198</sup>Crone, *Slaves*, 125.

<sup>199</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 264, where he is called: ʿUbayd.



that he was Abū l-A‘war’s great-grandson.

‘Ubaydallāh, the son of Mecca’s rich ally, al-Ḥajjāj ibn ‘Ilāt (Bahz), was appointed by Mu‘āwiya to *arḍ Ḥimṣ*.

Al-Ḥajjāj ibn ‘Ilāt’s grandson, ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Naṣr, was appointed to Mu‘āwiya’s *dīwāns*.

Sulaym supported Ibn al-Zubayr and six hundred of them were reportedly killed at the Battle of Marj Rāhiṭ (64/684). In 73/692–3 the Sulaym under al-Jaḥḥāf ibn Ḥakīm al-Dhakwānī fought against the Taghlib at al-Bishr in eastern Syria.

After the Conquests some Sulamīs settled in Kūfa while others went to Baṣra and Khurāsān. Only a few offices held by Sulamīs in these places can be listed here: Mujāshi‘ ibn Mas‘ūd (Sammāl) was in charge of the *ṣadaqa*-tax of Baṣra under ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; Qays ibn al-Haytham (of the Sammāl), the governor of Khurāsān under Mu‘āwiya, was appointed to his office by ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Āmir whose mother was of the Sammāl; ‘Abdallāh ibn Khāzim (Sammāl) was a relative of Qays ibn al-Haytham. At the time of ‘Uthmān he was appointed to Khurāsān by ‘Abdallāh ibn ‘Āmir and under Mu‘āwiya he replaced Qays ibn al-Haytham in the same office. He was also its governor under Ibn al-Zubayr. He lost the governorship when he refused to accept ‘Abd al-Malik’s letter appointing him to Khurāsān; and Kathīr ibn ‘Abdallāh (‘Uṣayya) who was nicknamed Abū l-‘Aj or “the tusked one” (he had long middle incisors) was for a short time the governor of Baṣra under Hishām.

One of the governors of Khurāsān under Hishām was al-Ashras ibn ‘Abdallāh (Zafar ibn al-Ḥārith).

Also Manṣūr ibn ‘Umar ibn Abī l-Kharqā’ (Ri‘l) was governor of Khurāsān under Hishām.

However, it appears that most of the Sulamīs who left their Arabian territory emigrated to northern Syria and on to the Jazīra. A noteworthy continuity exists with regard to Sulamī governors in Armīniyā: Usayd ibn Zāfir (of the Qunfudh) was governor of Armīniyā under the Marwānids. Usayd’s son, Yazīd, was governor of Armīniyā under al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī. Later in the Abbasid period Yazīd’s son, Aḥmad, was governor of Mosul and Armīniyā.

Other Sulamīs remained in Arabia as is shown by the Sulamī rebellion of 230/845. The Ḥarb, who probably came from the Yemen and settled between Mecca and Medina towards the end of the ninth century C.E., gradually absorbed the original inhabitants of that area including the Sulaym. In the 5th/11th century the descendants of Sulamīs and Hilālīs who had settled in Egypt left it and spread into the predominantly Berber North Africa, conquering Barqā and Tripolitania within a short period. At the end of the twelfth century C.E. the Sulaym invaded Tunisia and Morocco, making North Africa both bedouin and Arab and pushing the Berber element into the background.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>200</sup> *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, II, 519, 522–23; Qalqashandī, *Qalā’id*, 123–28. In the eighteenth century

## 6 Taghlib

Taghlib ibn Wā'il (also: Taghlib Wā'il), an important tribe, mostly nomadic, of the Rabī'a ibn Nizār group.<sup>201</sup> A member of this tribe was called Taghlabī or Taghlibī.<sup>202</sup> The tribe's pedigree is: Taghlib/Dithār ibn Wā'il ibn Qāsiṭ ibn Hinb ibn Afṣā ibn Du'mī ibn Jadīla ibn Asad ibn Rabī'a ibn Nizār ibn Ma'add ibn 'Adnān.

The genealogical literature records the name of al-Akhzar ibn Suḥayma, an early Taghlibī genealogist (*nassāba*) who transmitted at least part of the information on his tribe that was available to later scholars. He was a descendant of an insignificant line of Taghlib called Jusham ibn Ḥubayb. Al-Akhzar was one of the earliest genealogists of the Islamic period; experts of his type preserved and transmitted the evidence later incorporated in the genealogy books.<sup>203</sup> He is comparable to the *nassāba* Ibn al-Kayyis (above, 17).

Between al-Akhzar's generation and that of the great philologists of the second Islamic century there were intermediaries who in most cases remain anonymous. Yet we know that one of the informants of Abū 'Ubayda (Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā) regarding Yawm Irāb was the Taghlibī Abū Khayra Affār ibn Laqīṭ.<sup>204</sup> His *nisba*, al-'Adawī, shows that he belonged to the 'Adī Taghlib, i.e., 'Adī ibn Usāma ibn Mālik ibn Bakr. However, expertise in Taghlibī history and genealogy was not an exclusive Taghlibī domain. Ibn al-Kalbī's informant about the First Day of al-Kulāb, and about 'Amr ibn Kulthūm, was Abū Ra'shan Khirāsh<sup>205</sup> ibn Ismā'il al-'Ijlī (whom some call al-Shaybānī) *al-rāwīya* who compiled *Kitāb akhbār Rabī'a wa-ansābihā*.<sup>206</sup> Khirāsh belonged to the Sa'd ibn 'Ijl,

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some Sulamīs returned from North Africa to Egypt; 'Abd al-Qaddūs al-Anṣārī, *Banū Sulaym*, 18, 74–75, who quotes the editor's comments in Maqrīzī, *Bayān*, 167.

<sup>201</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 564–75; *Nasab Ma'add*, I, 83–94; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 303–307; Abū 'Ubayd, *Nasab*, 355–56; Yāqūt, *Muqtaḍab*, 203–207; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 95–96; *Naqā'id*, I, 266, 373; Qalqashandī, *Qalā'id*, 119–20, 131–32; von Oppenheim, IV, index, s.v. Taghlib; Caskel, II, 27–28, 541–42; Lammens, "Le chantre des omiades" (for the tribe's history after al-Akḥṭal, see 438 ff.). For Taghlibī traditionists of various periods see *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih*, II, 45–49.

<sup>202</sup>For the plural Taghālība see *Thimār qulūb*, 130; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, III, 61.

<sup>203</sup>Cf. Caskel, I, 45–47. Suḥayma was probably his mother's nickname. *Saḥīma* means "he became black". On the list of *abnā' al-Ḥabashiyyāt* we find the poet al-Mutalammis whose mother was called Suḥma; *Muḥabbar*, 308. The poet Suḥaym — the slave of Banū al-Ḥaṣḥās (of the Asad ibn Khuzayma) — was pitch black (*shadīd al-sawād*); *Dīwān Suḥaym*, 15; *GAS*, II, 288.

<sup>204</sup>*Naqā'id*, I, 473; II, 703.

<sup>205</sup>Misprinted as Khidāsh in Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 313; he was certainly not a Companion and the text must be garbled.

<sup>206</sup>*Fihrist* (ed. Ṭawīl), 174 (he was the teacher of Muḥammad ibn al-Sā'ib al-Kalbī). On Khirāsh see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 551; cf. *ibid.*, 544–45, 547 (where Ibn al-Kalbī quotes, and in one case disagrees with, Khirāsh regarding the genealogy of the 'Ijl); cf. Lyall, "Ibn al-Kalbī's account of the First Day of al-Kulāb", 127–28; *GAS*, II, 40.

more precisely, to a clan called Murra ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Mu‘āwiya.<sup>207</sup> Khirāsh also informed about the Battle of Şiffin,<sup>208</sup> which indicates that his scholarly interests included both the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods.<sup>209</sup> One passage in Abū ‘Ubayda’s *Kitāb al-ayyām* (which belongs either to his *Kitāb al-ayyām al-ṣaghīr* or to his *Kitāb al-ayyām al-kabīr*) deals with the killing of ‘Umayr ibn al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī in the war between the Taghlib and the Qays ‘Aylān in the Umayyad period. It demonstrates that Abū ‘Ubayda’s *Kitāb al-ayyām* (at least in its longer version) included not only pre-Islamic *ayyām* but also battles of the early Islamic period.<sup>210</sup> Indeed, the tribal experts, and in their wake the Muslim philologists whose scope was much wider, did not stop at the advent of Islam but considered the pre-Islamic and early Islamic history of the tribes as parts of an uninterrupted whole.<sup>211</sup>

Ibn al-Kalbī’s interest in the Taghlib and his rich evidence about them are reflected in the titles of two of his monographs, *Kitāb akhbār Rabī‘a wa-l-Basūs wa-ḥurūb Taghlib wa-Bakr*, and *Kitāb akhbār banī Taghlib wa-ayyāmihim wa-ansābihim*.<sup>212</sup>

The 2nd/8th century scholar ‘Allān al-Shu‘ūbī<sup>213</sup> compiled a *Kitāb nasab Taghlib ibn Wā’il* and Abū l-Faraj al-İsfahānī compiled a book entitled *Nasab banī Taghlib*.<sup>214</sup> Other early monographs about the Taghlib were entitled *Ash‘ār [Banī] Taghlib*.<sup>215</sup> Beside poetry, these monographs also included reports about the events to which the verses referred.<sup>216</sup>

The genealogical literature seldom takes account of changes in tribal structures that took place later than, say, the 2nd/8th century. In other words, it preserves a fossilized picture of the tribe. When one finds references to Taghlibī tribal groups that are not mentioned in the genealogical literature, this means that they were either insignificant or were formed later than the 2nd/8th century.

<sup>207</sup>*Nasab Ma‘add*, I, 73. Both Khirāsh and Ibn al-Kalbī are mentioned by Abū ‘Ubayda as his sources for the story of al-Kulāb; *Naqā’id*, I, 452; cf. Abū ‘Ubayda, *al-Dībāj*, 146 (where Khirāsh reports about the generosity of Qays ibn Mas‘ūd al-Shaybānī). For a report of Ibn al-Kalbī < Khirāsh on the Basūs war see *Khizāna*, II, 170. Also *Aghānī*, XX, 132 (Ibn al-Kalbī quotes Khirāsh on the Battle of Dhū Qār).

<sup>208</sup>Hinds, “Banners”, 6, 20.

<sup>209</sup>Al-Akhzar was an indirect source of Khirāsh: a report about ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm has an *isnād* going back to Ibn al-Kalbī < Khirāsh < an unspecified Taghlibī of the ‘Attāb clan < al-Akhzar. Cf. *GAS*, II, 40, n. 2, where Sezgin follows the reading in *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), XI, 52: al-Akhzar, and argues that he may have lived in the first half of the seventh century C.E.

<sup>210</sup>*Mu‘jam mā sta‘jam*, I, 216; IV, 1362.

<sup>211</sup>Goldziher, “Some notes on the *Dīwāns*”, 333.

<sup>212</sup>Incidentally, he also compiled *Kitāb akhbār banī ‘Ijl wa-ansābihim*; Najāshī, *Rijāl*, II, 400.

<sup>213</sup>Cf. *GAS*, II, 61.

<sup>214</sup>Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, IV, 1631, 1709.

<sup>215</sup>See *GAS*, II, *passim*; Goldziher, “Some notes on the *Dīwāns*”, 331.

<sup>216</sup>Cf., for example, *Khizāna*, II, 173–74 (al-Sukkarī, *Ash‘ār Taghlib*); VIII, 557–60 (Abū ‘Amr al-Shaybānī, *Ash‘ār Taghlib*).

Three sons are descended from Taghlib, Ghanm, al-Aws and ʿImrān. But the genealogical literature, sticking to the essentials, deals almost exclusively with the descendants of Ghanm ibn Taghlib. The six sons of Bakr ibn Ḥubayb ibn ʿAmr ibn Ghanm formed a group called al-Arāqim (pl. of al-Arqam, a certain speckled serpent).<sup>217</sup> All six were eponyms of tribes (*qabā'il*), the most numerous and prestigious being the Jusham. Two of the Arāqim tribes, the Jusham and the Mālik, were referred to as *al-rawqāni* (“the two horns” or “the two numerous and strong companies”). Bakr’s other sons were ʿAmr, Thaʿlaba, al-Ḥārith and Muʿāwiya. The Arāqim were the most important group among the Taghlib; nearly all the evidence about the Taghlib in the genealogy books relates to them and sometimes the name Arāqim appears to stand for the Taghlib as a whole.<sup>218</sup>

A remark about the origin of the Farasān, who at some unknown period emigrated from Shām to the Yemen, is in place here. It is not clear to which of the Arāqim tribes they belonged. According to one version, they belonged to the Jusham, more precisely, to al-Ḥārith ibn Jusham.<sup>219</sup> But among ʿAmr’s sons there are two who can possibly be linked with this unusual southward emigration of the Taghlib: Farasān and Wāʾila, sons of ʿAmr, “entered” (or were incorporated in) the Kināna ibn Khuzayma.<sup>220</sup> According to Ibn al-Kalbī, some of the Farasān claim Kinānī descent, while others claim Taghlibī descent.<sup>221</sup> The presence of Taghlibīs on the Farasān island(s) in the Red Sea off the Yemenī coast is well attested. According to Hamdānī,<sup>222</sup> the Farasān were former Christians of the Taghlib whose churches on the Farasān islands stood in ruins (in Hamdānī’s time). They manifested military prowess, occasionally fought against the Banū Mujūd(?) and carried merchandise to Ethiopia, making an annual journey (*saḡra*) in which they were joined by many people. The genealogists of Ḥimyar argued that they were of Ḥimyar. The name Farasān originally belonged to a tribal group of the Taghlib that emigrated from Shām to the Mawzaʿ area which Hamdānī calls *waṭan Farasān*, or the homeland of the Farasān.<sup>223</sup>

Among the Jusham ibn Bakr, the Zuhayr ibn Jusham had a *nisba* of their

<sup>217</sup>For three of the six Arāqim tribes, ʿAmr, Mālik and Thaʿlaba, mentioned in a verse, see *Shiʿr al-Akḥṭal*, II, 431.

<sup>218</sup>Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, V, 175.

<sup>219</sup>Ashʿarī, *Ansāb*, 118–22.

<sup>220</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 572–73 (printed: Fursān). In Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Maʿadd*, I, 92, because of a lacuna in the text, the Farasān and Wāʾila “became” children of ʿAwf ibn Mālik ibn Bakr instead of ʿAmr ibn Bakr.

<sup>221</sup>Quoted in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Farasān.

<sup>222</sup>Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Farasān; Hamdānī, *Ṣiḡa*, 96.

<sup>223</sup>*Ṣiḡa*, 139. For detailed genealogical information about the Farasān see Ashʿarī, *Ansāb*, 119–22. The uniqueness of these passages on Farasān was recognized by the late Ḥamad al-Jasir; see his “Muṭālaʿāt fi kitāb al-taʿrīf bi-l-ansāb”, 390. For the dispute over the question whether or not the Dawāsir in contemporary Saudi Arabia are Taghlibīs, see Jāsir, “al-Dawāsir wa-Taghlib”.

own, al-Zuhayrī.<sup>224</sup> The Zuhayr included several groups, the most important being the ‘Attāb ibn Sa‘d ibn Zuhayr whose *nisba* was al-‘Attābī.<sup>225</sup> ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm was one of the ‘Attāb. Also the poet and epistle writer, Abū ‘Amr Kulthūm ibn ‘Amr al-Qinnasrīnī who lived at the time of al-Ma‘mūn and Hārūn al-Rashīd, belonged to the ‘Attāb.<sup>226</sup> The ‘Attāb kept their leading position in Islamic times. When the Taghlib–Qays war began, the Taghlib were led by ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm’s great-great-grandson, ‘Abdallāh ibn Shurayḥ.<sup>227</sup> The ‘Attāb and their brother clans, ‘Utba and ‘Itbān,<sup>228</sup> formed a group called al-‘Utab.

The other descendants of Sa‘d ibn Zuhayr, namely the offspring of ‘Awf and Ka‘b, were called Banū l-Waḥad or al-Awḥād.<sup>229</sup>

Still within the Zuhayr ibn Jusham, but along the genealogical line of al-Ḥārith ibn Zuhayr, we find Kulayb ibn Rabī‘a and his brother, the poet and leader al-Muhalhil.<sup>230</sup> Kulayb was a *jarrār*, i.e., one who commanded one thousand men, and the same was said of his father, Rabī‘a. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, the Ma‘add fought under the same command on only three occasions, among them Yawm al-Sullān (between the people of Tihāma and the Yemen) where they were led by Rabī‘a ibn al-Ḥārith, and Yawm Khazāz(ā) (against the Yemen), where they were led by Kulayb ibn Rabī‘a.<sup>231</sup>

The other component of the above mentioned *rawqāni*, namely the Mālik ibn Bakr, included the pre-Islamic warrior al-Saffaḥ (Salama ibn Khālid) whose descendants, like those of ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm, were prominent in the Islamic period. Indeed, many a leading family among the nomadic Arabs survived the rise of Islam.

Even with regard to the descendants of Ghanm ibn Taghlib, about whom the sources provide relatively detailed evidence, some tribal appellations are known only from the poetry. Such appellations often reveal the cooperation of adjacent tribal groups that were closer to each other than to other related groups.

There were among the Taghlib at least five further tribal groups (*aṣṇāf*) known by a tribal appellation. Most of them belonged to the Mālik ibn Bakr: al-Qamāqim; al-Lahāzim (probably the ‘Awf ibn Mālik ibn Bakr);<sup>232</sup> al-Abnā’ (the Rabī‘a, ‘Ā’idh and Imru’ al-Qays sons of Taym ibn Usāma);<sup>233</sup> al-Qu‘ūr

<sup>224</sup> *Lubāb*, II, 83.

<sup>225</sup> *Sam‘ānī*, IV, 147–48, 550.

<sup>226</sup> *Yāqūt*, *Udabā’*, V, 2243–46. He lived in Ra’s al-‘Ayn; see the anecdote with Rashīd in *Lisān al-‘Arab*, III, 88–89, s.v. *b.r.d.*

<sup>227</sup> *Aghānī*, XX, 128.

<sup>228</sup> Cf. *Shi‘r al-Akhṭal*, I, 277: ‘Utba, ‘Uṭayba and ‘Itbān. The *ayyām* warrior Ḥazīma ibn Ṭāriq belonged to the ‘Itbān.

<sup>229</sup> *Jumāhī*, II, 704; *Yāqūt*, *Buldān*, s.v. Khāla; *Shi‘r al-Akhṭal*, II, 708–709; *Lisān al-‘Arab*, III, 453a, s.v. *w.h.d.*

<sup>230</sup> *GAS*, II, 148–49.

<sup>231</sup> *Khizāna*, II, 165–66.

<sup>232</sup> *Qabā’il min raḥṭ Ka‘b ibn Ju‘ayl*; *Shi‘r al-Akhṭal*, II, 532.

<sup>233</sup> *Barth*, *Dîwân des ‘Umeir ibn Schujeim al-Quṭāmî*, no. xxxi/1.

(the Mālik ibn Mālik ibn Bakr and al-Ḥārith ibn Mālik ibn Bakr); and Rīsh al-Ḥubārā (the Quʿayn ibn Mālik ibn Bakr).<sup>234</sup> In addition, the ʿAmr ibn Bakr were nicknamed al-Nakhābiqa.<sup>235</sup>

Rich evidence about Taghlib's tribal divisions in the Umayyad period can be derived from the reports about the war between the Taghlib and the Qays. Particularly detailed is the description of the Battle of al-Ḥashshāk. Having been fatally wounded, the commander of the Taghlib, Ḥanzala ibn Qays ibn Hawbar al-Kinānī (of the Kināna ibn Taym)<sup>236</sup> was replaced by Marrār ibn ʿAlqama al-Zuhayrī who organized the Taghlibī units under their tribal banners (*rāyāt*) and ordered each clan (*banū ab*) to place the women behind them. They were set in war disposition by a member of al-Abnā'. The Mālik ibn Bakr had a banner of their own (carried in that specific battle by a member of the ʿAbdallāh ibn Taym) and one of their groups, the ʿAdī Taghlib, was at the centre of the army.<sup>237</sup> These details reflect the tribal divisions in the Umayyad period alone.

Prior to the Basūs war which they fought against their brother-tribe Bakr ibn Wā'il, the Taghlib lived in Najd.<sup>238</sup> Following their defeat in the battle known as Yawm Taḥlāq al-Limam ("the day of the shaving off of the hair that descends below the lobe of the ear", also called Yawm al-Taḥāluq) that took place after the death of Kulayb ibn Rabī'a,<sup>239</sup> the Taghlib dispersed<sup>240</sup> and settled, together with their "paternal uncles", the Namir ibn Qāsiṭ (above, 16) and Ghufayla ibn Qāsiṭ, on the lower Euphrates<sup>241</sup> where some of them may have settled earlier. After ʿAmr ibn Kulthūm<sup>242</sup> had assassinated the king of Ḥīra, ʿAmr ibn Hind (ʿAmr ibn al-Mundhir) in 569/70,<sup>243</sup> the Taghlib migrated further up the river to the Jazīra.

The Taghlib were within the sphere of influence of the Sassanians and their client-kings, the Lakhmids of Ḥīra. Already in the fourth century C.E. Shāpūr II transferred Taghlibī captives to Baḥrayn, more precisely to Dārīn, "the name of which is Hayj", and al-Khaṭṭ.<sup>244</sup> But the place-name "Hayj" was created by a scribal error: instead of *Dārīn wa-ʿsmuhā h.y.j*, read: *Dārīn wa-Samāhīj*.<sup>245</sup>

<sup>234</sup> *Naqā'id Jarīr wa-l-Akhṭal*, 138; *Shi'r al-Akhṭal*, II, 416. The Quʿayn appear in a verse; *Lisān al-ʿarab*, XIII, 316a, s.v. *gh.y.n.*.

<sup>235</sup> *Shi'r al-Akhṭal*, I, 255, 257.

<sup>236</sup> See versions of the name in *Shi'r al-Akhṭal*, II, 724. Ḥanzala led the Taghlib in the days of ʿUmayr ibn al-Ḥubāb (misprinted in Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 306, as ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb).

<sup>237</sup> *Shi'r al-Akhṭal*, I, 75–76.

<sup>238</sup> *Muʿjam mā staʿjam*, I, 85–86 (on 86, l. 4 the word Taghlib is missing).

<sup>239</sup> *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *ḥimā*.

<sup>240</sup> *Fa-tafarraqu*; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Qida.

<sup>241</sup> See *Muʿjam mā staʿjam*, s.v. Khaffān, II, 505 (the territory of the Taghlib was between Khaffān and al-ʿUdhayb).

<sup>242</sup> The *muʿallaqāt* poet; *GAS*, II, 128.

<sup>243</sup> *Muḥabbar*, 192, 202–204.

<sup>244</sup> Tabarī, I, 839; cf. 845; Nöldeke, *Gesch. d. Perser*, 56–57; cf. 67.

<sup>245</sup> Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya* (facs.), IX, 290 (*wa-askana mā aṣāba min sabāyā l-ʿarab min banī*

The poet Jābir ibn Ḥunayy al-Taghlibī<sup>246</sup> complained about the practices of a tax collector sent to the Rabīʿa by the king of Ḥīra and the customs imposed on trade at the markets of Iraq.<sup>247</sup> The Taghlib were at some stage part of the *ridāfa* institution.<sup>248</sup> The two battalions of ʿAmr ibn Hind called Dawsar and al-Shahbāʾ were said to have been made up of troops from Bakr and Taghlib.<sup>249</sup>

For several decades in the second half of the fifth century C.E. and the first half of the sixth, Taghlib's fortunes were connected to the rise of Kinda in central and northern Arabia. After a major Taghlibī defeat in the war against the Bakr and the retirement of their leader, al-Muhalhil, several tribes, including the Taghlib and Bakr, agreed to subject themselves to king al-Ḥārith ibn ʿAmr ibn Ḥujr/Ākil al-Murār al-Kindī.<sup>250</sup> There followed a short interregnum of Kinda in Ḥīra in the twenties of the sixth century.<sup>251</sup> After the king's death two of his sons, Shuraḥbīl and Salama, fought against each other at al-Kulāb (after 530; it was the First Day of al-Kulāb, or the Kulāb of the Rabīʿa).<sup>252</sup> The two brother-tribes again found themselves on opposite sides: the Bakr fought on Shuraḥbīl's side, while the Taghlib and Namir were with Salama<sup>253</sup> whose cavalry was led by the Taghlibī warrior al-Saffāḥ (Salama ibn Khālīd).<sup>254</sup> Shuraḥbīl was killed by ʿAmr ibn Kulthūm's cousin, Abū Ḥanash ʿUṣ(u)m ibn al-Nuʿmān.<sup>255</sup> The war between the Taghlib and Bakr came to an end around the middle of the sixth century with the signing of a peace treaty at the market of Dhū l-Majāz, near Mecca, under the auspices of ʿAmr ibn Hind, who took hostages from both tribes.

When the Lakhmids regained control of Ḥīra, they could count on Taghlib's support. Al-Wazīr al-Maghribī (d. 418/1027)<sup>256</sup> corrects a common error with regard to the famous visit by Imruʾ al-Qays ibn Ḥujr to Byzantium. It was not against the Asad who had killed his father that Imruʾ al-Qays wanted the Byzantines to support him, but against the king of Ḥīra, al-Mundhir III (ibn Māʾ al-Samāʾ, ca. 505–54). Upon his return to the throne in the days of Anūshirwān

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*Taghlib bi-Dārīn* [printed: *b.r.ʿ.ʿ.r.y.*] *wa-Samāhij wa-l-Khaṭṭ wa-man sabā min ʿAbdi l-Qays wa-afkhādh min Tamīm bi-Hajar wa-man sabā min Bakr ibn Wāʾil bi-Kirmān wa-man sabā min banī Ḥanzala wa-Tanūkh bi-l-Ahwāz*). For the corrupt place-name Hayj see also Ṭabarī, trans., V, 55, n. 156. On the later history of the Taghlib in Baḥrayn see Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, I, 395–96. On Samāhij see Oppenheimer, *Babylonia Judaica*, 236–37.

<sup>246</sup> *GAS*, II, 150.

<sup>247</sup> *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* (Lyll), no. xlii; Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, VI, 148; Lecker, “Were customs dues levied at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad?”, 33–34 = no. VII in this volume.

<sup>248</sup> Kister, “Ḥīra”, 149, 166.

<sup>249</sup> *Lisān al-ʿarab*, V, 171b, s.v. *m.r.r.*; cf. Kister, “Ḥīra”, 165, 167. Cf. Ḥamza, *Taʾrīkh*, 76 (Dawsar was made up of the Tanūkh while al-Shahbāʾ was made up of Persians).

<sup>250</sup> The grandfather of the poet Imruʾ al-Qays ibn Ḥujr; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 427.

<sup>251</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sāsānids, VIII, at 77a.

<sup>252</sup> On wadi al-Kulāb (modern wadi al-Shaʿrāʾ) see Ibn Junaydil, “Wādī al-Kulāb”.

<sup>253</sup> *Muʿjam mā staʿjam*, IV, 1132.

<sup>254</sup> Abū ʿUbayda, *Dībāj*, 100.

<sup>255</sup> *Muḥabbar*, 204–206.

<sup>256</sup> *GAS*, VIII, 245–46; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya* (facs.), VI, 27–55.

(Khusro I, 531–79), al-Mundhir sent an army of the Taghlib and Bakr to hunt down Kinda's leading family, the Banū Ākil al-Murār, many of whom were captured and executed.<sup>257</sup>

Before Islam, Taghlib was one of the strongest and most numerous nomadic tribes. One of al-Kalbī's informants said that "had Islam arrived a little later, the Taghlib would have devoured the rest of the people" (... *la-akalati* ... *l-nās*).<sup>258</sup> The Taghlibīs were involved in some of the greatest battles of pre-Islamic Arabia and often fought in large military formations, which indicates a high degree of solidarity among their subdivisions. Out of the eleven Rabīʿa leaders listed as *jarrārūna*, or those in command of one thousand men, four belonged to the Taghlib.<sup>259</sup> This is also true of Islamic times: in the category of those in command (*riʿāsa*) of whole tribes or groups of tribes, we find in connection with the Taghlib–Qays war Ḥanzala ibn Qays ibn Hawbar and Shuʿayth ibn Mulayl, both of whom led the forces of the Taghlib and those of Namir ibn Qāsiṭ at the Battle of al-Ḥashshāk. After the death of Ḥanzala, the Taghlib were led by Marrār ibn ʿAlqama al-Zuhayrī.<sup>260</sup>

At the Battle of Dhū Qār (around 605) the Taghlib under Bishr ibn Sawāda<sup>261</sup> and the Namir fought on the Sassanian side. Since the Taghlib lived far from the birthplace of Islam, they could not have played a central role in Islamic history during the Prophet's life. Only four Taghlibīs are found in the biographical dictionaries dealing with the Prophet's Companions:

ʿAṭiyya ibn Ḥiṣn, a descendant of Mālik ibn ʿAdī ibn Zayd ibn Jusham ibn Ḥubayb, is said to have paid the Prophet a visit (*lahu wifāda*). According to Sayf ibn ʿUmar's *Futūḥ*, ʿAṭiyya commanded a force of the Taghlib, Iyād and Namir at the Battle of Qādisiyya;<sup>262</sup>

The poet ʿUtba ibn al-Waghil;

A member of al-Akhṭal's clan, the Fadawkas, called Qabīṣa ibn Wāliq. He was a Kūfan *sharīf* and one of Ḥajjāj's generals;<sup>263</sup>

Khawla bint al-Hudhayl ibn Hubayra (... Ḥurfa ibn Thaʿlaba), a niece of the Companion Diḥya ibn Khalīfa al-Kalbī and probably a Christian. She was reportedly given in marriage to the Prophet but died on the way from Syria to Medina.<sup>264</sup>

<sup>257</sup>See Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya* (facs.), IV, 567, confirming the reading "Taghlib" in *Aghānī*, VIII, 64 (where the number of those slain is forty-eight); cf. Olinder, *The kings of Kinda*, at 66–67.

<sup>258</sup>Ibn al-Anbārī, *Sharḥ al-qaṣāʾid*, 369; *Khizāna*, III, 181 (quoting Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī).

<sup>259</sup>*Muḥabbar*, 249–50. For a fifth *jarrār*, al-Saffāḥ, see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāq*, 337.

<sup>260</sup>Misprinted al-Zahrānī; *Muḥabbar*, 255–56.

<sup>261</sup>Masʿūdī, *Tanbīh*, 241. But Cf. Ashʿarī, *Ansāb*, 116.

<sup>262</sup>*Iṣāba*, IV, 510; *Nasab Maʿadd*, I, 93.

<sup>263</sup>*Iqd*, III, 360 (*lahu hijra*); *Iṣāba*, V, 411–12; Ṭabarī, II, 944–45, 950, 952; Ṭabarī, trans., XXII, 97, 101, 103.

<sup>264</sup>Ibn Saʿd, VIII, 160; Ṭabarī, I, 1776; Ṭabarī, trans., IX, 139; *Iṣāba*, VII, 626–27; *Istīʿāb*, IV, 1834; Ṣāliḥī, *Azwāj*, 237–38.



The Taghlib were involved in the *ridda*. The false prophetess Sajāḥ and her Tamīmī clan were clients of the Taghlib to whom her mother belonged. It was among the Taghlib that she began her career. One of her followers was al-Hudhayl ibn ʿImrān, a former Christian who led the Taghlibī unit in the army made up of “mixed sorts of men from Rabīʿa” (*afnāʾ Rabīʿa*) that followed her into Arabia. Al-Hudhayl, a *jarrār*, later took part in fighting against the conquering Muslims at ʿAyn al-Tamr and elsewhere.

Some wrongly assumed that al-Hudhayl ibn ʿImrān was identical to Khawla’s father, al-Hudhayl ibn Hubayra of the Thaʿlaba ibn Bakr (or rather, the Ḥurfa ibn Thaʿlaba), who was also a *jarrār*.<sup>265</sup> In order to differentiate between the two famous al-Hudhayls, al-Hudhayl ibn ʿImrān was called *al-aṣghar* or “the younger”,<sup>266</sup> while al-Hudhayl ibn Hubayra was called *al-akbar* or “the elder”.<sup>267</sup> Indeed, whereas “the elder” was connected to the pre-Islamic *ayyām*, “the younger” was linked to the Conquests and was still alive at the time of ʿUthmān.

The Taghlib fought against the conquering Muslim armies in western Iraq and the Jazīra. The ʿUtba ibn Saʿd ibn Zuhayr are specifically known to have taken part in the fighting. Al-Ṣahbāʾ Umm Ḥabīb, the daughter of the Taghlibī leader Rabīʿa ibn Bujayr of the ʿUtba, was taken captive by Khālīd ibn al-Walīd at al-Thaṇī and sent to Medina as part of the *khums* or the fifth of the spoils. She was bought by ʿAlī ibn Abī Ṭalīb and bore him twins, a boy and a girl, ʿUmar *al-akbar* (Ibn al-Taghlibiyya) and Ruqayya.<sup>268</sup>

Yet at some stage during the Conquests Taghlibī troops fought together with the Muslims. The most prominent among them was the Companion or alleged Companion ʿUtba ibn al-Waghl of the Saʿd ibn Jusham ibn Bakr.<sup>269</sup> At the time of ʿUthmān he was a political activist in Kūfa<sup>270</sup> where the Taghlibī troops had settled.

At the Battle of the Camel the Rabīʿa (including the Taghlib) and Kinda fought under the same banner on ʿAlī’s side.<sup>271</sup> In connection with Ṣifīn we hear of the joint *riʾāsa* of Kinda and Rabīʿa. Among the Rabīʿa who fought with ʿAlī at Ṣifīn there were also Taghlibīs who had their own banner;<sup>272</sup> the Arāqim are specifically mentioned (in a verse).<sup>273</sup> The Arāqim were also involved in the

<sup>265</sup> *Naqāʾid Jarīr wa-l-Akḥḥāl*, 77–79.

<sup>266</sup> Jarīr, *Dīwān*, I, 253.

<sup>267</sup> *Naqāʾid*, I, 473. For a mention of the two Hudhayls side by side see *Khizāna*, VI, 9.

<sup>268</sup> Ibn Saʿd, III, 20; *Bihār al-anwār*, XLII, 89, 91; cf. Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 110 (where she is wrongly called Umm Ḥabīb bint Ḥabīb ibn Bujayr).

<sup>269</sup> Ṭabarī, I, 2476–77, 2482; Ṭabarī, trans., XIII, 56, 62. He is the only member of this group mentioned in the genealogical literature. His father’s name was al-Waghl (not al-Waʿl); see Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 337.

<sup>270</sup> *Iṣāba*, V, 120; Balādhurī, V (Goitein), 47.

<sup>271</sup> Abū ʿUbayda, *al-Dībāj*, 153–54.

<sup>272</sup> Hinds, “Banners”, 21.

<sup>273</sup> *Waḡʿat Ṣifīn*, 486.

Taghlib—Qays war.<sup>274</sup> It stands to reason that Taghlib's tribal system underwent less changes than that of other tribes which, following the Conquests, left their Arabian territories.

At Šifḥīn there were Taghlibīs on Mu'āwiya's side as well. One of them was "Mu'āwiya's poet", Ka'b ibn Ju'ayl,<sup>275</sup> a descendant of Aws ibn Taghlib<sup>276</sup> or of Ghanm ibn Taghlib.<sup>277</sup> 'Alī's reportedly hostile attitude towards the Taghlib<sup>278</sup> may suggest that they were not an insignificant element in the Umayyad force.

A crucial reconciliation between the Taghlib and Bakr (who at Dhū Qār fought on opposite sides) was effected by the pro-Umayyad Hammām ibn Muṭarrif, described as the first leader (*awwal man sādā*) of the Taghlib in Islam. He guaranteed (*taḥammala*) the payment of the pending blood money (allegedly for one thousand slain men), giving two hundred of his own camels, and paid the dowries of five hundred women from each tribe who married men from the other tribe.<sup>279</sup> The reconciliation was presumably brought about by the Taghlib—Qays war.<sup>280</sup> Backed by both Taghlib and Bakr, the leader of the former, 'Abd Yasū', could address the caliph 'Abd al-Malik as a representative of "both sons of Wā'il".<sup>281</sup>

At the beginning of Ibn al-Zubayr's rebellion the Taghlib supported the Qays, led by Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī and 'Umayr ibn al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī,<sup>282</sup> in their fighting against the Kalb.<sup>283</sup> Then a series of battles<sup>284</sup> took place between the Taghlib, often together with the Namir, and the Qays — mainly the Sulaym — that continued for some time even after Ibn al-Zubayr's defeat.<sup>285</sup> These battles (Yawm al-Khābūr, Yawm Mākisīn, Yawm al-Tharthār al-Awwal and al-Thānī, Yawm al-Fudayn, Yawm al-Sukayr, Yawm al-Ma'ārik, Yawm Libbā, Yawm Balad, Yawm al-Shar'abiyya, Yawm al-Balīkh, Yawm al-Ḥashshāk, Yawm al-Kuḥayl and Yawm al-Bishr) are probably better known than any other chapter in Taghlib's history in Islamic times. The Taghlibī forces in the battle known as Yawm al-Ḥashshāk, in which 'Umayr ibn al-Ḥubāb was killed, are of particular interest. First, not only Taghlib's nomads took part in it, but also their settled population (*Taghlib . . . jama'at ḥādīratahā wa-bādiyatahā*).<sup>286</sup> Second, Taghlib's

<sup>274</sup>See e.g. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Raḥūb.

<sup>275</sup>*Waq'at Šifḥīn*, 549; *GAS*, II, 162–63.

<sup>276</sup>*Iqd*, III, 360.

<sup>277</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 306 ('Awf ibn Bakr ibn Ḥubayb ibn 'Amr ibn Ghanm ibn Taghlib).

<sup>278</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 183 (*la-in tafarraghtu li-banī Taghlib . . .*); *Iqd*, VI, 248 ('Alī, addressing the Taghlib: *yā khanāzīra l-'arab . . .*).

<sup>279</sup>Ash'arī, *Ansāb*, 118; the figures must be exaggerated. Hammām was one of *abnā' al-Ḥabashiyyāt*; Muḥabbar, 308.

<sup>280</sup>Cf. Barth, *Dīwān des 'Umeir ibn Schujeim al-Quṭāmī*, 25, 34–35.

<sup>281</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 567 (*ya'bā llāh dhālika wa-'bnā Wā'il*).

<sup>282</sup>On the latter cf. Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, index.

<sup>283</sup>Taghlib were the guides (*adillā'*) of the Qays in the fighting against the Kalb; *Shi'r al-Akhtal*, II, 723; Ibn Athīr, *Kāmil*, IV, 309.

<sup>284</sup>Called *maghāzin*; *Aghānī*, XI, 59.

<sup>285</sup>Balādhurī, V (Goitein), 308–309, 313–31.

<sup>286</sup>On the *ḥādīra* and *bādiya* of the Taghlib and the Yemen that gathered for battle see also

forces included two thousand cavalymen from their *muhājirūn* (*sic*) equipped with heavy armour who had been called in from Adharbījān.<sup>287</sup> Considering the strong nomadic element among the Taghlib, the risk that they might go over to the Byzantines was a real one.<sup>288</sup>

The statement quoted in n. 287 that the Taghlib of the Jazīra had no settled population must be qualified. In early Islam the Taghlib, while owning no orchards (*amwāl*), had fields (*hurūth*) as well as cattle.<sup>289</sup> Small villages (*qurayyāt*) along the Khābūr were inhabited by the Taghlib in the Umayyad period.<sup>290</sup> In addition, there was a *madīna* belonging to the Taghlib.<sup>291</sup>

The Taghlib–Qays war was merely an episode in the struggle between ‘Abd al-Malik and Ibn al-Zubayr. Despite their initial help to the Qays against the Kalb, the Taghlib were pro-Umayyad. Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor in Mosul threatened to raid them if they did not pledge their allegiance to Ibn al-Zubayr but was dismissed before he carried out his threat. ‘Umayr ibn al-Ḥubāb al-Sulamī asked Muṣ‘ab ibn al-Zubayr who was his brother’s governor in Iraq to appoint him as Taghlib’s tax collector.<sup>292</sup> Moreover, Muṣ‘ab killed the brother of a Bakr ibn Wā’il leader who headed from Iraq to the Jazīra with reinforcements for the Taghlib. (The military aid must have followed the above mentioned reconciliation of the Taghlib and Bakr.<sup>293</sup>) ‘Umayr ibn al-Ḥubāb’s head was reportedly sent in 70/689–90 to ‘Abd al-Malik,<sup>294</sup> who welcomed the killing of Ibn al-Zubayr’s

*Shi‘r al-Akhṭal*, I, 129 (*fa-jama‘at Taghlib wa-l-Yaman ḥādiratahā wa-bādiyatahā*).

<sup>287</sup> *Aghānī*, XI, 62:3 (*wa-kānat Taghlib badwan bi-l-Jazīra wa-lā ḥādira lahā illa qalīl bi-l-Kūfa wa-kānat ḥādiratu l-Jazīra li-Qays wa-Qudā‘a wa-akhlāṭ Muḍar fa-fāraqathum Qudā‘a qabla ḥarb Taghlib wa-arsalat Taghlib ilā muhājirihā wa-hum bi-Ādharbayjān fa-atāhum Shu‘ayth ibn Mulayl fī alfay fāris*).

<sup>288</sup> A similar division into nomads and settled population is also attested among the Kalb who included both *Kalb al-bādiya/al-bawādī* and *Kalb al-madar/al-ḥādira*; Balādhurī, V (Goitein), 308 (*fa-lammā ra‘at Kalbu l-madar mā laqiyathu Kalbu l-bawādī min Zufar ibn al-Ḥārith wa-‘Umayr ibn al-Ḥubāb* ...). The Christian Taghlibī poet nicknamed A‘shā Banī Taghlib (cf. *GAS*, II, 335–36; Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughya* [facs.], VIII, 114–16) who lived in the Umayyad period spent the dry season (literally, lived near a source of water) in Syria, and during the nomadic period in his tribe’s territory near Mosul and Diyār Rabī‘a; *Aghānī*, X, 98 (*min* ... [*wa-*] *sākinī l-Shām idhā ḥādira, wa-idhā badā nazala fī bilād qawmihi bi-nawāḥi l-Mawṣil wa-Diyār Rabī‘a*).

<sup>289</sup> Abū ‘Ubayd, *Amwāl*, 37 (*innamā hum aṣḥāb hurūth wa-mawāshin*); Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 182.

<sup>290</sup> *Aghānī*, XX, 127.

<sup>291</sup> *Ta’rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 268, with reference to 171/787–88 (... *madīna min madā‘ini l-Nizāriyya* ..., *madīnat banī Usayd* ..., *fa-qāla ḥādhihi balda fihā banū Taghlib wa-hiya madīnatuhum* ...); cf. below, 46. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Falaj says that Falaj was a tribal *madīna* similar to Ḥajr (*madīna bi-arḍi l-Yamāma li-banī Ja‘da wa-Qushayr wa-Ka‘b ibn Rabī‘a* ..., *kamā anna Ḥajr[an] madīnat banī Rabī‘a* ...).

<sup>292</sup> *Aghānī*, XX, 127 (*fa-sa‘alahu an yuwalliyahu ‘alayhim*).

<sup>293</sup> *Aghānī*, XI, 62; *Shi‘r al-Akhṭal*, I, 73; Balādhurī, V (Goitein), 319. Nevertheless, the Taghlib are said to have complained to a leader of the Rabī‘a whose support they sought about the official support given to their enemies: “You know that there is Christianity among us and that the Muḍar are the Muḍar. They are the government (*sulṭān*) and we cannot combat the government’s stable or treasury”; *Shi‘r al-Akhṭal*, I, 129.

<sup>294</sup> *Khizāna*, IX, 482.

powerful ally.

During these battles pregnant Taghlibī and Sulamī were slain,<sup>295</sup> a rather unusual phenomenon in tribal warfare. The battles often have more than one name, reflecting the existence of competing tribal traditions about them.<sup>296</sup> Contradictory claims were made by the Qays and Taghlib regarding one of these battles, Yawm Libbā, with each claiming to have had the upper hand.<sup>297</sup> In general, it appears that the Taghlibī version was less dominant compared with the Qaysī one.

Being pragmatic by nature, the policy of the early Muslim state towards the Taghlib and other Christians of the Rabīʿa federation was dictated by expediency rather than principle. Islamic tradition argues that an agreement was concluded with the Taghlib at the time of ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, since it seeks to rely on his formidable figure regarding their problematic status. ʿUmar allegedly referred to the authority of the Prophet himself to justify the fact that he did not force the Taghlib and other Christian Arabs to embrace Islam; the Prophet is quoted as anticipating that Islam would be strengthened by Christians from the Rabīʿa on the Euphrates bank.<sup>298</sup>

When the Taghlib who were militarily strong and controlled some of the areas bordering on Byzantium threatened to cross the lines and join their Byzantine coreligionists, their special status was confirmed. They were not forced to convert to Islam but at the same time were not classified as *ahl dhimma*. Instead of the despised and humiliating *jizya* (which was levied from other Arabs who were either Christian or Jewish) they paid double the common rate of *ʿushr* or *ṣadaqa*.<sup>299</sup> The terms refer to two different taxes. The *ʿushr* in this context means *maks* or customs dues, while *ṣadaqa* indicates the tax imposed on the cattle and agricultural produce of the Muslims. The meaning of *ʿushr* is made clear by reports associated with Ziyād ibn Ḥudayr al-Asadī who at the time of ʿUmar was an *ʿashshār*, *ʿāshir* or *muṣaddiq*, i.e., customs officer. Ziyād is said to have levied the full *ʿushr* from the Christian Taghlibīs, while the Christian Arabs (i.e., other than the Taghlibīs) paid half that rate.<sup>300</sup> But it is not clear how much trust we should invest in these reports regarding the *maks*, since the legitimacy of the

<sup>295</sup>See e.g. *Shiʿr al-Akhṭal*, I, 130 (*wa-baqarū buṭūn thalāthīna mraʿa min Sulaym*).

<sup>296</sup>For the Taghlibī versions regarding the names of battles see *Aghānī*, XI, 58 (*wa-hādhihi l-layla tusammihā Taghlib laylata l-harīr*); Jarīr, *Dīwān*, I, 55; *ibid.*, I, 154 (*fa-banū Taghlib tusammī hādha l-yawm Yawma l-Dawāʿir*). Regarding *laylat al-harīr* cf. Ibn Mākūlā, II, 497 (Qādisiyya); *Thimār qulūb*, 637 (Ṣifḥīn).

<sup>297</sup>Or, rather, to have killed more of the other tribe's men; Balādhurī, V (Goitein), 322 (*fa-tanāṣafū, fa-Qays taqūlu kāna l-faḍl lanā wa-Taghlib taqūlu kāna l-faḍl lanā*).

<sup>298</sup>TMD, *Mukhtaṣar*, IX, 305 (*lawlā annī samīʿtu [the min here is superfluous] rasūla llāh ṣ yaqūlu inna llāh sa-yuʿizzu hādha l-dīn bi-naṣārā min Rabīʿa ʿalā shāṭiʿi l-Furāt, mā taraktu ʿarabiyyan illā qataltuhu aw yuslimu*).

<sup>299</sup>Ibn Zanjawayh, *Amwāl*, I, 130–31 (... *baʿdamā qaṭaʿū l-Furāt wa-arādū l-luḥūq bi-l-Rūm. . . ; . . . fa-harabū ḥattā laḥiqū bi-ard minā l-ardīna . . .*).

<sup>300</sup>Abd al-Razzāq, VI, 99.

tax itself and the categories of those who had to pay it (Muslims, *ahl dhimma*, foreigners) were much disputed. In any case, it seems that the Taghlib formed an intermediate category between the Muslims and the *ahl al-dhimma*. Ibn ‘Abbās reportedly prescribed that animals slaughtered by the Taghlib were prohibited to Muslims, as was marriage with Taghlibī women. “They are neither from us nor from the *ahl al-kitāb*”, he said.<sup>301</sup>

The conversion of the Taghlib started already in the early days of Islam. “Mu‘āwiya’s poet”, Ka‘b ibn Ju‘ayl, was a Muslim,<sup>302</sup> and the same is true of the small Taghlibī community in Kūfa whose *sayyid* was Sa‘īd ibn Bayān al-Taghlibī.<sup>303</sup> The Umayyad poet al-Quṭāmī (‘Umayr ibn Shiyaym or Shuyaym)<sup>304</sup> who was born a Christian, converted to Islam.<sup>305</sup> Among the Taghlibīs living in Qinnasrīn there were early converts to Islam.<sup>306</sup> The mention of converts in Kūfa and Qinnasrīn is no accident: one expects conversion to Islam to have been more widespread among the settled than among the nomads.

But conversion during the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods was limited. At that time the Taghlib, mostly Christian and living near the boundary of a hostile Christian empire, were not given high official positions. (Some of them may have held low ranking positions which are rarely recorded in the sources.) The Taghlib probably did not take part in expeditions against Byzantium, and the participation of the poet A‘shā Banī Taghlib in one such expedition<sup>307</sup> does not point to the contrary. Yet they did not lose their military prowess, or they would not have kept so tenaciously to their faith and their vast territories. These were under constant threat from migrating Arabian tribes — mainly the Qays ‘Aylān who were now more unified than they had been in their original Arabian homeland.

Under the last Umayyad caliph, Marwān II, Hishām ibn ‘Amr ibn Bisṭām al-Taghlibī (a descendant of al-Saffāh) was governor of Mosul and the Jazīra. At the time of Abū Ja‘far al-Manṣūr, Hishām was governor of Sind. Under al-Mahdī, Bisṭām ibn ‘Amr al-Taghlibī (perhaps Hishām ibn ‘Amr’s brother) was governor of Sind between 159/776–160/777, and a year later, of Adharbījān.<sup>308</sup> Taghlib’s weak position in the state apparatus can be demonstrated from another angle as well. Although the Taghlib would have preferred to have tax collectors from their own ranks, the five tax collectors of Taghlib known from the sources were non-Taghlibīs: al-Walīd ibn ‘Uqba al-Umawī was appointed over the *ṣadaqāt* of

<sup>301</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 181–82.

<sup>302</sup>*Naqā’id Jarīr wa-l-Akhṭal*, 158.

<sup>303</sup>*Shi‘r al-Akhṭal*, I, 292.

<sup>304</sup>*GAS*, II, 338–39.

<sup>305</sup>*Aghānī*, XX, 118; *Khizāna*, II, 370–71.

<sup>306</sup>See entries on two *ḥadīth* transmitters, a father and son, in Mizzī, IV, 141–44 (Bishr ibn Qays, a friend of Abū l-Dardā’); XXIV, 5–6 (Qays ibn Bishr ibn Qays).

<sup>307</sup>Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughya* (facs.), VIII, 114.

<sup>308</sup>Ṭabarī, III, 470, 482, 491; Ṭabarī, trans., XXIX, 180, 193, 203.

Taghlib by ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb;<sup>309</sup> Hind ibn ‘Amr al-Jamalī al-Murādī is said to have been appointed by ‘Umar in 17/638 over *naṣārā banī Taghlib* (i.e., the collection of their *ṣadaqāt*);<sup>310</sup> an unspecified member of the Kilāb (Qays ‘Aylān), the governor of ‘Ayn al-Tamr and its vicinity (*wa-mā wālāhā*) in the Umayyad period, collected the *ṣadaqāt* of Taghlib;<sup>311</sup> at the time of ‘Umar II, Ibn Jaḥdam ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Utba al-Qurashī al-Fihri was in charge of the *ṣadaqāt* of Taghlib;<sup>312</sup> and Rawḥ ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Hamdānī was put by al-Rashīd in charge of *ṣadaqāt Banī Taghlib*.<sup>313</sup>

Both Hishām and Biṣṭām were no doubt Muslims. The summer expedition against Byzantium of 177/793 was led by ‘Abd al-Razzāq ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Taghlibī<sup>314</sup> whose forces probably included many Muslims from his own tribe.

Later in the Abbasid period the number of Muslims among the Taghlib increased and they became more and more prominent in the government of their own territory. In 197/813 al-Amīn (Muḥammad) appointed al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb al-‘Adawī (of the ‘Adī Taghlib) governor of Mosul.<sup>315</sup> Al-Ḥasan took the old town of Adhrama (on a day’s journey from Naṣībīn) away from its owner, built a castle in it and fortified it.<sup>316</sup>

In the 3rd/9th century a powerful family arose in the Jazīra linked through marriage to that of the above mentioned al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Umar. Ṭawq ibn Mālik (d. 216/831) of the ‘Attāb, who descended from ‘Amr ibn Kulthūm, officiated at the time of al-Ma’mūn as governor of Diyār Rabī‘a or the eastern Jazīra.<sup>317</sup> The former’s son, Mālik ibn Ṭawq ibn Mālik (d. 260/874; sometimes the sources confound the two) was governor of Damascus and al-Urdunn under al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil.<sup>318</sup> Mālik founded the town of al-Raḥba or Raḥbat Mālik ibn Ṭawq, not far from modern Deir al-Zor.<sup>319</sup> There is yet another case of Taghlibī building activity in the same area. The offspring of Abū Rimtha al-Taghlibī (of the ‘Attāb, a descendant of ‘Abd Yasū‘) settled in the ancient castle of Kafrutūthā,<sup>320</sup> fortified it and turned it into a *madīna* (*fa-maddanūhā*).<sup>321</sup> In 261/874–75 Khidr ibn Aḥmad al-Taghlibī was appointed governor of Mosul by al-Mu‘tamid.

<sup>309</sup> *TMD, Mukhtaṣar*, XXVI, 336–37. According to Sayf, *Ridda*, 28, al-Walīd was appointed on the ‘*arab al-jazīra* and alighted among the Taghlib.

<sup>310</sup> *Iṣāba*, VI, 576–77.

<sup>311</sup> *Shi‘r al-Akḥṭal*, II, 658.

<sup>312</sup> Ibn Zanjawayh, *Amwāl*, III, 1196.

<sup>313</sup> *Ta’rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 267–68.

<sup>314</sup> Ṭabarī, III, 629; Ṭabarī, trans., XXX, 139.

<sup>315</sup> *Ta’rīkh al-Mawṣil*, 326.

<sup>316</sup> Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 180; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Adhrama.

<sup>317</sup> In *Jalīs ṣāliḥ*, IV, 100, instead of al-d.bār, read: al-Diyār.

<sup>318</sup> *TMD, Mukhtaṣar*, XXIV, 50–54.

<sup>319</sup> Modern al-Mayādin; cf. Bianquis, “Raḥba et les tribus arabes avant les croisades”, 27–28.

<sup>320</sup> Thus vocalized in *Lisān al-‘arab*, V, 150a, s.v. *k.f.r.*.

<sup>321</sup> Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 180; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.

The Ḥamdānids who controlled both Mosul and Aleppo in the 4th/10th century were reportedly of the ‘Adī Taghlib. However, some claimed that they were the *mawālī* of Taghlib.<sup>322</sup> Further evidence on this matter is derived from al-Wazīr al-Maghribī whose father and grandfather were secretaries of Sayf al-Dawla.<sup>323</sup> Al-Wazīr remarks that one of those who were envious of the Ḥamdānids accused them of having made a false claim regarding their pedigree (*di‘wa*). This unspecified person said that they were in fact the *mawālī* of Ishāq ibn Ayyūb al-Taghlibī.<sup>324</sup> Al-Wazīr refutes this, and his defence of the Ḥamdānids appears to provide us with valuable evidence concerning a major conversion to Islam among the Taghlib in the latter half of the 3rd/9th century: simply, al-Wazīr says, many of them converted to Islam “at the hands of Ishāq”.<sup>325</sup> Roughly in the same period, Mālik ibn Ṭawq convinced al-Akhṭal’s great-grandson, Sahl ibn Bishr ibn Mālik ibn al-Akhṭal, to convert to Islam together with the rest of al-Akhṭal’s offspring.<sup>326</sup>

<sup>322</sup>Cf. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Ḥamdānides*, 287–89.

<sup>323</sup>Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughya* (facs.), VI, 28. Note that al-Wazīr’s *Kitāb akhbār banī Ḥamdān wa-ash‘ārihim* is mentioned in Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III, 537.

<sup>324</sup>On whom see Ṭabarī, index.

<sup>325</sup>Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughya* (facs.), VI, 527–29. Ibn al-‘Adīm himself comments that those who said that they were the *mawālī* of Ishāq ibn Ayyūb obviously meant that they were *mawālī muwālāt*, not *mawālī ‘atāqa* (*wa-ba‘d ḥussād hā’ulā’i l-qawm yarmihim bi-l-di‘wa wa-yaqūlu innahum mawālī Ishāq ibn Ayyūb al-Taghlibī wa-dhālīka bāṭil wa-aṣluhu anna kathīran minhum aslamū ‘alā yad Ishāq hādihā, fa-taṭarraqa l-qawl ‘alayhim li-ajl dhālīka . . . qultu man qāla innahum mawālī Ishāq ibn Ayyūb fa-l-ẓāhir arāda annahum mawālī l-muwālāt li-anna lladhīna aslamū ‘alā yadihi mawālī muwālāt lā mawālī ‘atāqa*). Cf. *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, 32.

<sup>326</sup>*TMD*, *Mukhtaṣar*, XXIV, 52. Cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Akhṭal, where it is wrongly stated that the famous poet left no offspring. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1071) remarks regarding the Taghlib, that most of them *were* Christians (*kāna aktharuhum naṣārā*); Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *Inbāh*, 97. This probably indicates that by Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr’s time the Taghlib or most of them were already Muslims.

## 7 Tamīm

A very large “Northern” tribe, probably the largest Arab tribe or tribal federation, which lived in central and eastern Arabia before Islam and in its early days.<sup>327</sup> There are indications that the Tamīm ibn Murr (or Tamīm bint Murr)<sup>328</sup> had close links with western Arabia and may have originated there: their pedigree links them through Khindif to the tribes of the Ḥijāz; they had a close relationship with Mecca and during the pilgrimage they were responsible for signalling the beginning of the *ifāda* or the quick paced march from Muzdalifa to Mecca (below, 58); and their eponym’s grave was located at Marrān, north east of Mecca.<sup>329</sup> Their pedigree runs as follows: Tamīm ibn Murr ibn Udd ibn Ṭābikha ibn Ilyās ibn Muḍar ibn Nizār ibn Ma‘add ibn ‘Adnān.

With regard to idol worship it is known that Shums (or Shams)<sup>330</sup> was worshipped by the Tamīm ibn Murr ibn Udd and the other children of Udd. Its custodians were of the Usayyid; more precisely, they were the offspring of Aws ibn Mukhāshin. Shums was demolished by two Usayyidīs, Hind ibn Abī Hāla and Ṣafwān ibn Usayyid, the latter of whom belonged to the custodians’ family.<sup>331</sup> Two leaders of the Tamīm are said to have risen above the spiritual level of their contemporaries by applying certain restrictions to themselves. Al-Aqra‘ ibn Ḥābis prohibited games of chance (*qimār*), while Qays ibn ‘Āṣim abstained from drinking wine. Tribal informants were generally interested in glorifying their tribes, for which end they did not hesitate to use strictly Islamic motifs. Thus a monk in Syria reportedly told Mujāshi‘ ibn Dārim that a prophet called Muḥammad was about to appear, so Mujāshi‘ gave a newborn son of his the name Muḥammad, wishing that he be the promised one.<sup>332</sup>

### 7.1

The literary production about the Tamīm in the form of monographs is now lost. For example, Abū l-Yaqṣān ‘Āmir ibn Ḥaṣṣ al-Baṣrī, nicknamed Suḥaym (died

<sup>327</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 191–277 (the section on the Tamīm in Ibn al-Kalbī’s book is referred to as *Jamharat nasab Banī Tamīm*; Ibn Mākūlā, I, 256); Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 206–33; Abū ‘Ubayd, *Nasab*, 231–41; *Īnās*, *passim*; Balādhurī (MS), II, 957b–1077b; Balādhurī, *Jumal*, XII, 7–XIII, 94; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiḳāq*, 201–62; Ash‘arī, *Ansāb*, 66–74; Yāqūt, *Muqtaḍab*, 96–126; *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, I, 415–66; *Sharḥ nahj*, XV, 126–36; *Naqā‘id*, *passim*; the relevant entries in Sam‘ānī and *Lubāb*; Jāhiz, *Bayān*, index; *Faṣl al-maqāl*, *passim*; *Nasab ‘Adnān*, 6–10. Kazzarah, *Die Dichtung der Tamīm*; Ḥusayn, *Qabīlat Tamīm*; von Oppenheim, IV, index, s.v. Tamīm; III, 8 (their territories); Caskel, II, 7–10, 544 (where there are details on their territory); Kister, “Mecca and Tamīm”; *idem*, “Ḥīra”; Crone, *Slaves*, *passim*.

<sup>328</sup>Cf. Taghlib bint Wā’il and Tamīm bint Murr when the tribe or *qabīla* is meant; *Khizāna*, XI, 56.

<sup>329</sup>Cf. Caskel, II, 544 (“Die Tamīm sind sicher von Westen gekommen”).

<sup>330</sup>See the latter vocalization in *Lisān al-‘arab*, VI, 114b, s.v. (*ṣanam qadīm*).

<sup>331</sup>*Muḥabbar*, 316.

<sup>332</sup>Balādhurī (MS), 970b.





190/806),<sup>333</sup> who was a *mawlā* of the Tamīm,<sup>334</sup> compiled a monograph entitled *Akhbār Tamīm* and another entitled *Kitāb ḥilf Tamīm ba‘dihā ba‘dan*.<sup>335</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī compiled a *Kitāb ‘Adī ibn Zayd al-‘Ibādī* and *Ḥilf Kalb wa-Tamīm*.<sup>336</sup> Several monographs by Madā’inī dealt with specific figures from the Tamīm.<sup>337</sup> Abū ‘Ubayda (Ma‘mar ibn al-Muthannā) compiled a *Kitāb ayyām Banī Māzin wa-akhbārihim*,<sup>338</sup> which he dedicated to the pre-Islamic battles of one of Tamīm’s subdivisions.<sup>339</sup> Other monographs about the Tamīm included *Ash‘ār Banī Ṭuhayya* (below, 61)<sup>340</sup> which was probably identical to *Kitāb Banī Ṭuhayya*;<sup>341</sup> *Kitāb Banī Tamīm*,<sup>342</sup> *Kitāb Banī Nahshal*<sup>343</sup> and *Kitāb Banī Yarbū‘*.<sup>344</sup> Abū l-‘Arab al-Tamīmī (d. 333/945)<sup>345</sup> compiled a monograph called *Manāqib Tamīm*.<sup>346</sup>

Before reaching the literary stage, the materials included in these and other early monographs were preserved by tribal informants. Let us turn in some detail to one of them. At some point al-Kalbī (quoted by his son, Ibn al-Kalbī, in the latter’s *Jamharat al-nasab*) interrupts his description of the genealogy of one of Tamīm’s subdivisions, the Banū Sa‘d ibn Zayd Manāt, in order to correct a wrong diacritical point in a report by his Tamīmī informant, Shabba ibn Iyās ibn Shabba ibn ‘Aqqāl ibn Ṣaṣa‘a ibn Nājiya (...) ibn Mujāshi‘ ibn Dārim. Shabba would have remained anonymous had he not been mistaken on this point.<sup>347</sup> Further

<sup>333</sup> GAS, I, 266–67.

<sup>334</sup> Or, more precisely, of the ‘Ujayf — Ḥanzala; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 235.

<sup>335</sup> Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, III, 1342.

<sup>336</sup> Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, VI, 2780:2; *Fihrist*, 140. The former is mentioned in Horovitz, “‘Adī ibn Zayd, the poet of Hira”, 31–32.

<sup>337</sup> *Fihrist*, 149–50; Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, IV, 1856 (*kutubuhu fī l-aḥdāth*). Perhaps the above mentioned book did not contain information about an alliance between the Kalb and the Tamīm, but rather about various alliances of the two tribes with different parties; cf. Haytham ibn ‘Adī’s monograph entitled *Kitāb ḥilf Kalb wa-Tamīm wa-Dhuhl wa-Ṭay’ wa-Asad*; Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, VI, 2792. *Fihrist*, 145, has: *Kitāb ḥilf Kalb wa-Tamīm wa-ḥilf D.h.b.l (!) wa-ḥilf Ṭay’ wa-Asad*.

<sup>338</sup> Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, VI, 2708.

<sup>339</sup> Detailed information about the genealogy of the Banū Zurāra (Dārim – Ḥanzala) appears in the form of a dialogue between Yazīd ibn Shaybān ibn ‘Alqama ibn Zurāra al-Dārimī and a *shaykh* of the Mahra (i.e., one who came from the most remote corner of Arabia and nevertheless had an impressive command of Tamīmī genealogy); it was transmitted to Abū ‘Ubayda by another descendant of ‘Alqama ibn Zurāra; *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, I, 353; Qālī, *Amālī*, II, 300–302; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 273–77. Surprisingly, the stranger provides in a capsule all the information directing one to the leading house of the tribe.

<sup>340</sup> *Khizāna*, I, 36.

<sup>341</sup> *Khizāna*, VI, 439.

<sup>342</sup> Goldziher, “Some notes on the Dīwāns”, 122 (it was very old).

<sup>343</sup> *Khizāna*, VI 439.

<sup>344</sup> *Khizāna*, IV, 164.

<sup>345</sup> GAS, I, 356.

<sup>346</sup> Introduction of Abū l-‘Arab, *Miḥan*, 30.

<sup>347</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 245. Also Balādhurī (MS), 1050a. In Jarīr, *Dīwān*, I, 361, Shabba is given this pedigree: Shabba ibn ‘Aqqāl ibn Shabba ibn ‘Aqqāl ibn Muḥammad ibn Sufyān ibn Mujāshi‘. Shabba ibn ‘Aqqāl ibn Ṣaṣa‘a ibn Nājiya transmitted *ḥadīth* from his father, who in

details about the literary activity of the informant's family are available. The informant's father, Iyās ibn Shabba ibn 'Aqqāl, was an indirect source of Abū 'Ubayda who quoted from him, via another Tamīmī called Jahm al-Salīṭī, a report regarding al-Farazdaq's father, Ghālib ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a ibn Nājiya.<sup>348</sup> (The pedigrees of our informant and of al-Farazdaq converge at Ṣa'ṣa'a ibn Nājiya.) Elsewhere Abū 'Ubayda adduces a report by Iyās about the generosity of Farazdaq's father via two intermediaries: the above mentioned Jahm and Farazdaq's grandson.<sup>349</sup> The informant's paternal uncle, 'Aqqāl ibn Shabba ibn 'Aqqāl ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a ibn Nājiya,<sup>350</sup> was a direct informant of Abū 'Ubayda.<sup>351</sup> The uncle was a famous orator in the days of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik and lived to the time of Manṣūr.<sup>352</sup> Reportedly, the uncle "was with Hishām", while the uncle's father (who was our informant's grandfather) "was with 'Abd al-Malik".<sup>353</sup> Shabba ibn 'Aqqāl ibn Shabba, a *ḥadīth* transmitter, transmitted, among others, from Zuhri.<sup>354</sup> He was probably our informant's cousin.

Indeed most of what we know about Tamīm's genealogy, and much of what we know about their history, is based on materials transmitted by informants who were either members of the Tamīm or their *mawālī*. Occasionally we find criti-

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turn transmitted from his grandfather; Shabba was the teacher of Ibrāhīm ibn Ishāq al-Madanī; *Jarḥ*, IV (II,i), 385. Regarding the name 'Aqqāl see Ibn Mākūlā, V, 244 (who mentions 'Aqqāl ibn Shabba al-Tamīmī Abū Shayẓam who transmitted *ḥadīth* from Zuhri and transmitted to Abū 'Arūba al-Ḥarrānī). One suspects that the informant played some role in the ascription of prestige to his ancestors, Sufyān ibn Mujāshī' and Muḥammad ibn Sufyān ibn Mujāshī', in connection with the *qadā'* or arbitration at 'Ukāz; *Muḥabbar*, 181–82. It is noteworthy that the informant was not himself a member of the Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāt, since he belonged to the Mujāshī'. Presumably he was also an expert on the genealogy of his own group, and perhaps of the Tamīm as a whole; 'Aqqāl ibn Shabba quotes Yazīd ibn Shaybān ibn 'Alqama ibn Zurāra regarding the latter's meeting with the Mahrī man (see above); *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, I, 355. The informant's grandfather(?), Shabba ibn 'Aqqāl, was a tall man, and consequently the poet Jarīr called him pejoratively "the ostrich's shadow" (*ẓill al-na'āma*); Balādhurī (MS), 971a. In Jarīr, *Dīwān*, II, 962, this nickname has taken a hostile turn to become *salḥ al-na'āma*. See also the anecdote involving Shabba ibn 'Aqqāl and 'Abdallāh ibn 'Ayyāsh al-Hamdānī al-Kūfī (d. 158/775), in Jāhīz, *Burṣān*, 133–34 (quoting Abū 'Ubayda and Haytham ibn 'Adī). See an entry on 'Abdallāh ibn 'Ayyāsh (a close associate of Manṣūr) in *Lisān al-mīzān*, III, 397.

<sup>348</sup>*Naqā'id*, I, 416.

<sup>349</sup>*Naqā'id*, I, 414.

<sup>350</sup>Whose own father, Shabba ibn 'Aqqāl, was al-Farazdaq's cousin and the husband of Farazdaq's sister, Jīthin; *Naqā'id*, II, 855. On Farazdaq's help to his cousin see *Naqā'id*, II, 907–908.

<sup>351</sup>*Naqā'id*, II, 984, regarding Farazdaq's jailing. Also *Aghānī*, XIX, 3, regarding Farazdaq's grandfather Ṣa'ṣa'a.

<sup>352</sup>Balādhurī (MS), 970b. In an entry on Ṣa'ṣa'a ibn Nājiya we find: one of his offspring was 'Aqqāl ibn Shabba ibn 'Aqqāl ibn Ṣa'ṣa'a ibn Nājiya, the *khaṭīb*; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqa al-rābi'a*, 526. On Shabba ibn 'Aqqāl (read: 'Aqqāl ibn Shabba) and Hishām, see Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, III, 1231; *Aghānī*, VII, 73. Also Ṭabarī, II, 1820; Ṭabarī, trans., XXVI, 175 (year 126, a reference to an orator called Shabba ibn 'Aqqāl or 'Aqqāl ibn Shabba).

<sup>353</sup>For an anecdote involving 'Aqqāl ibn Shabba (printed: Shayba) and Manṣūr in 158/775, probably alluding to 'Aqqāl's former link with Hishām, see *Thimār qulūb*, 187–88.

<sup>354</sup>Ibn Mākūlā, V, 33; Dāraquṭnī, *Mu'talif*, III, 1371.

cal remarks made by an early genealogist or historian when the Tamīmī claims seemed to have been exaggerated, or when they contradicted rival claims; but in most cases the genealogists were mere transmitters of their informants' reports. Thus Ibn al-Kalbī's detailed description of Tamīm's genealogy is interrupted several times to dispute Tamīmī claims. Al-Kalbī (who was the teacher of his son, Ibn al-Kalbī) argued that, contrary to the claims of the Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāt, the famous pre-Islamic figures 'Urqūb and al-Munakhkhal did not in fact belong to the Sa'd, and that the Arab pedigree which the Sa'd provided for the poet 'Abda ibn al-Ṭabīb<sup>355</sup> was false: al-Kalbī was informed by Ḥammād al-Rāwīya that the poet was Ethiopian (and hence had no Arab genealogy).<sup>356</sup> Abū l-Yaqẓān reports the dispute over the claim of the 'Amr ibn Ḥanzala that twenty-three of their men took the *mirbā'* or the fourth part of the spoils which before Islam was the commander's share.<sup>357</sup>

Tamīmī fingerprints are discernible in the *ayyām* accounts. Thus, for example, Abū 'Ubayda quotes part of his account of the Battle of Raḥraḥān (one year before the Battle of Jabala which took place forty or forty-five years before the advent of Islam<sup>358</sup>) from Dirwās, a descendant of Zurāra ibn 'Udus.<sup>359</sup> The clash between biased tribal informants of the Tamīm and non-Tamīmī (or rather anti-Tamīmī) informants was inevitable. Was al-Aqrā' ibn Ḥābis (Mujāshi') really "the arbiter of the Arabs" (*ḥakam al-'arab*) before Islam? In other words, was he the holder of an inherited arbiter's office at the market of 'Ukāz? Abū Ghassān (Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Kinānī al-Madanī) was of the opinion that he was not: he only arbitrated one case following which the Tamīm gave him this epithet.<sup>360</sup> Was Ḥanzala ibn al-Rabī' al-Usayyidī one of the Prophet's scribes, and did he write down Qur'ān verses in Muḥammad's time? According to al-Wāqidī (no doubt basing himself on an earlier source), Ḥanzala received the epithet *al-kātib* ("the scribe") having written a single letter for the Prophet "because literacy (*al-kitāba*) among the Arabs was limited".<sup>361</sup>

However, on the whole such critical remarks are rare. In most cases we learn from the genealogy books what the tribe itself chose to remember and recorded

<sup>355</sup> *GAS*, II, 198–99.

<sup>356</sup> 'Urqūb, al-Munakhkhal; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 246; also *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 113–15; *Īnās*, 211 ('Urqūb). Ḥammād al-Rāwīya words about the poet, Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 247; *Īnās*, 212–13. Al-Kalbī and Khirāsh ibn Ismā'īl al-'Ijlī disputed a claim of the Tamīm; Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm", 144.

<sup>357</sup> Balādhurī (MS), 1015b.

<sup>358</sup> *Khizāna*, VI, 370.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, 369.

<sup>360</sup> *Naqā'id*, I, 265. Cf. Serjeant, "Sunnah, Qur'ān, 'Urf", 38n.

<sup>361</sup> In *TMD*, XV, 324 (*kataba li-l-nabī ṣ marra kitāban fa-summiya bi-dhālika wa-kānati l-kitāba fī l-'arab qabīlan* [sic]). Kister, "Strangers", 137, remarks that according to Balādhurī, "some people believed him to be of obscure provenance (*kāna da'īyyan*)". But *d.ʿy.* in the passage in question can be read differently: *wa-ba'duhum yaz'umu annahu du'īya fa-kataba li-l-nabī ṣ marra wāḥida*; Balādhurī (MS), 1070a.

for posterity. The mechanisms of tribal polemics, on the one hand, and the composition of the tribal population in the towns of Iraq where most works of Arab philology were compiled, on the other, account for what is now considered the pre-Islamic history of Arabia. For example, the chapter on tribal arbiters in Ibn Ḥabīb's *Muḥabbar* (134) includes six Tamīmī arbiters, three belonging to one family of the relatively small Usayyid and three belonging to the Dārim. Rather than informing us about the sagacity and prestige of these arbiters, the list reflects the prominence gained by their respective tribal groups during the formative period of Arab philology.

It should by now be clear that the literature does not only preserve Tamīm's praise. Tamīm's enemies spread unfavourable stories, or hostile versions of well-known ones, about the tribe, disparaging verses on specific clans<sup>362</sup> and pejorative nicknames (including one, *al-fashīsha*, said to have been given to the Tamīm as a whole).<sup>363</sup> The Tamīm were also accused of being gluttonous. Much of the invective was created by feuds within the Tamīm themselves. The famous *qāḍī* Aktham ibn Ṣayfī reportedly allowed himself to say that "a Tamīmī who was not stingy was not lawfully begotten".<sup>364</sup>

The competition between families and tribes over "virtues" (*faḍā'il*) led to suspicious claims which, while originating with the interested party itself, soon went unchecked into the Islamic literature. For example, Shab(a)r ibn Ṣ(u/a)ʿfūq, a grandson of Zurāra ibn ʿUdus (Dārim), is said to have been put by the Prophet in charge of his clan (*qawm*).<sup>365</sup> But the claim was probably transmitted by Shab(a)r's descendant, al-Sarī ibn Yaḥyā ibn al-Sarī ibn Muṣʿab ibn Abī Bakr ibn Shab(a)r, the famous transmitter of Sayf ibn ʿUmar's *Kitāb al-futūḥ*;<sup>366</sup> it must have originated with Shab(a)r's offspring.

Certain patterns seem to recur in reports regarding some Tamīmī Companions or alleged Companions. For example, Ḥaṇẓala ibn al-Rabīʿ is said to have spied for the Prophet at Ṭāʾif,<sup>367</sup> while al-Qaʿqāʿ ibn Maʿbad al-Dārimī reportedly did the same at Ḥunayn.<sup>368</sup>

The earliest transmitters of historical accounts about the Tamīm often remain obscure due to the lack of systematic biographical dictionaries outside the sphere

<sup>362</sup>E.g., Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, I, 363, against the Manāf of Dārim, al-Zulaym of the Barājim and al-Ḥabīṭāt. See the *nisba* al-Zulaymī in *Lubāb*, II, 299.

<sup>363</sup>*Lisān al-ʿarab*, VI, 333a, s.v. *Naqāʾid*, index 188, has: Fushaysha, var.: Fashīsha. However, according to others it was only directed at some of them; *Khizāna*, VI, 376.

<sup>364</sup>An Umayyad official who was of the Usayyid instructed his sons to be stingy; *TMD*, XLV, 387. Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān was a miser; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (Ch. Pellat).

<sup>365</sup>*Wa-ammaraḥu ʿalā ṣadaqat qawmihī*; *Iṣāba*, III, 312. Literally, he was charged with levying the *ṣadaqa*-tax on behalf of Muḥammad.

<sup>366</sup>*Ṣaḥīb Kitāb al-futūḥ li-Sayf*; Dāraquṭnī, *Muʿtalif*, III, 1367. Al-Sarī's son, Abū Dārim Muḥammad ibn al-Sarī ibn Yaḥyā, is mentioned in Mizzī, XXX, 312, as a teacher of his brother, Hannād ibn al-Sarī ibn Yaḥyā, on whom see Mizzī, XXX, 313–14.

<sup>367</sup>*TMD*, XV, 327.

<sup>368</sup>*Iṣāba*, V, 452.

of *ḥadīth*. When tribal history becomes religious literature, in other words when the accounts for some reason find their way into the canonical collections of *ḥadīth*, they automatically receive scholarly attention and one may expect their transmitters to appear in the relevant biographical dictionaries.<sup>369</sup>

So the genealogy and history of the Tamīm were transmitted and later recorded in an environment of apologetics and intertribal polemics, including those between different groups of the Tamīm themselves. The adversaries were informants belonging to, or sympathising with, other tribes (sometimes engaged in actual fighting against the Tamīm). The confrontation and tendentious use of history clearly come through in the dispute between two genealogists, one of the Tamīm and another of the Rabīʿa, supposed to have taken place in Baṣra at the time of Muʿāwīya. “When did you last see Sajāḥ Umm Ṣādir”, the Rabaʿī asked the Tamīmī, referring to the false prophetess of the *ridḍa*. In retaliation, the latter mentioned one of the former’s ancestresses who was a woman of ill repute or lowly descent, and the two further argued about the exploits of their respective tribes in the pre-Islamic battles between them.<sup>370</sup> It can be said that a tribal genealogist-cum-historian of the first Islamic century both defended his tribe’s prestige and disclosed the vices of other tribes. On Yawm Uwāra (or Yawm al-Quṣayba) the king of Ḥīra, ʿAmr ibn Hind, according to the current version of the story, avenged the death of his young brother Asʿad by burning alive many Tamīmīs (a most humiliating way to die, according to tribal values). This was widely used in anti-Tamīmī, or anti-Ḥanzalī, or even anti-Dārimī polemics.<sup>371</sup> The identity of those killed was disputed: were they men (or rather, ninety-nine men and one old woman),<sup>372</sup> or merely women and children? Moreover, Abū ʿUbayda, no doubt quoting a Tamīmī source, denied that they were killed in this disgraceful manner: those claiming they were burnt alive, he said, were wrong. When the verses of Ṭirimmaḥ of the Ṭayʿ on this matter were mentioned to Abū ʿUbayda, he said that he did not know them; he also had a variant of a verse by Jarīr in which fire and burning were replaced by sword and killing.<sup>373</sup> There is yet another aspect of the same story: the expedition is said to have gained ʿAmr the epithet *al-muḥarriq* or “the burner”. A Tamīmī appears to have been behind the claim that he was given this name since he burned down the palm trees of Yamāma.<sup>374</sup>

The place of honour in Tamīm’s pre-Islamic glory is given to Ḥājib ibn Zurāra’s bow ( “*qaws Ḥājib*”). During a severe drought (reportedly caused by the Prophet’s

<sup>369</sup>For a typical example see the entry on Zubayb ibn Thaʿlaba al-ʿAnbarī in Mizzī, IX, 286–89.

<sup>370</sup>Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 318 (al-Ḥantaf ibn Yazīd ibn Jaʿūna and Dagħfal).

<sup>371</sup>*Khizāna*, VI, 521–28.

<sup>372</sup>*Ibid.*, 522.

<sup>373</sup>*Ibid.*, 523. The Ṭayʿ were involved in the fighting. According to informants of the Ṭayʿ, a Ṭāʿī was in command of ʿAmr ibn Hind’s vanguard; *Khizāna*, VI, 523, 525.

<sup>374</sup>*Khizāna*, I, 325.

curse against the Muḍar),<sup>375</sup> Ḥājib asked for Khusro's permission to graze his tribe's herds on the fringes of the sown land.<sup>376</sup> As a guarantee of good conduct Ḥājib pledged his bow, a humble item which however acquired great value through the prestige and authority of its owner.<sup>377</sup> No wonder that the Tamīm (or rather the Dārim<sup>378</sup>) were very proud of this story, in which the Sassanian emperor allegedly showed great respect for traditional tribal values. Tamīm's adversaries in their turn attempted to belittle the importance of the emperor's gesture. "Had they not been in my opinion of less value than the bow, I would not have taken it", the emperor is made to say,<sup>379</sup> as if explaining why he did not take Tamīmī hostages instead of a worthless Arab bow. Alternatively, anti-Tamīmī (or anti-Dārimī) tribal informants downgrade the authority with whom Ḥājib negotiated. One version mentions Iyās ibn Qabiṣa al-Ṭā'ī who was "Khusro's governor in charge of Ḥīra and the Arabs in its vicinity" (*wa-man yalīhā min al-ʿarab*); while other versions have "the head of the *asāwira*<sup>380</sup> or heavy cavalry charged with guarding the border between the Arabs and the Persians" (*raʿīs al-asāwira lladhīna ʿalā ḥaddi l-ʿarab wa-l-ʿajam*),<sup>381</sup> and "one of Khusro's Marzubāns".<sup>382</sup> The intertribal peace imposed by Islam usually stopped the intertribal fighting, but intertribal polemics, now that the friction among the tribes in the garrison cities of Iraq was greater than before, was intensified.

## 7.2

The following is a general, non-comprehensive, description of Tamīm's subdivisions based mainly on the genealogical literature, with special emphasis on relative adjectives ending with *yāʿ* *al-nisba* or *nisbas*, to which the Arabs dedicated special treatises.<sup>383</sup> Naturally, many tribal groups which at some time operated as separate entities are not mentioned as such in the sources.

Before going into detail it should be remarked that in a linguistic context there is evidence of a division of the Tamīm based on the geographical situation: the

<sup>375</sup>This claim links the Prophet's history to that of the Tamīm.

<sup>376</sup>*Fī ḥadd bilādihi* is the expression used in *Khizāna*, I, 355. Cf. on the connection between *al-mīra wa-l-kayl*, or provisions, and obedience, in Kister, "Ḥīra", 168. Cf. on the term *kayla* Lecker, "Were the Jewish tribes in Arabia clients of Arab tribes?"

<sup>377</sup>Ḥājib's offspring preserved the bow for generations; *Thimār qulūb*, 625; Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif*, 608.

<sup>378</sup>*Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, I, 61.

<sup>379</sup>*Thimār qulūb*, 626.

<sup>380</sup>*EIr*, s.v. *Asāwera* (C.E. Bosworth).

<sup>381</sup>Balādhurī (MS), 960a. Cf. Kister, "O God, tighten Thy grip on Muḍar..." 246.

<sup>382</sup>*Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, I, 61 (*fa-ʿftakharat Banū Dārim bi-dhālika min fīʿl Ḥājib* ...). Tribal tradition hostile to the Tamīm argued that when Musaylima married the false prophetess Sajāh, the dowry was Tamīm's exemption from the dawn prayer and the prayer of nightfall; *Muntaẓam*, IV, 23.

<sup>383</sup>There are several undecipherable *nisbas* in Ashʿarī, *Ansāb*, 74. A better edition of this valuable source which has apparently appeared in Saudi Arabia is not available to me.

‘Āliyat Tamīm or ‘Ulyā Tamīm which included the ‘Amr ibn Tamīm (three groups of whom are specified, al-Hujaym, al-‘Anbar and Māzin), on the one hand, and the Suflā Tamīm which included the Dārim, on the other. The “higher Tamīm” lived in the ‘Āliya or western Najd, while the “lower Tamīm” were close to Iraq.

The Tamīm were divided into three branches the eponyms of which were Tamīm’s three sons, Zayd Manāt, ‘Amr and al-Ḥārith. The three branches are presented through a story about the birth of their eponyms.<sup>384</sup>

In the Zayd Manāt ibn Tamīm branch, the Sa’d ibn Zayd Manāt (Sa’d Tamīm, Sa’d al-Aktharīn, Sa’d al-Su‘ūd)<sup>385</sup> were said to have equalled in number the whole of the Muḍar.<sup>386</sup> One of the Sa’d was al-Aḥnaf (Ṣakhr, or al-Ḍaḥḥāk)<sup>387</sup> ibn Qays, Abū Baḥr, whose *nisba* (one of several) was al-Sa’dī.<sup>388</sup> During a certain crisis in Baṣra, al-Aḥnaf was recognized as the leader of all the Muḍarīs living there.<sup>389</sup>

The children of Sa’d ibn Zayd Manāt except Ka‘b and ‘Amr — these two were referred to as al-Buṭūn<sup>390</sup> — formed a group called al-Abnā’ (*nisba*: al-Abnāwī).<sup>391</sup> According to others,<sup>392</sup> the Abnā’ contained all of the Banū Sa’d except Ka‘b. The division into al-Buṭūn and al-Abnā’ is roughly reflected in the appointment of tax collectors by the Prophet, since Qays ibn ‘Āṣim was appointed to the former, and al-Zibriqān ibn Badr was appointed to the latter.<sup>393</sup>

Several components of the Abnā’ were also known through a *nisba* of their own: al-‘Abshamī, after ‘Abshams<sup>394</sup> ibn Sa’d;<sup>395</sup> al-Mālikī, after Mālik ibn Sa’d;<sup>396</sup> and al-Munaffirī, after a descendant of ‘Abd Shams called al-Munaffir.<sup>397</sup> Also the ‘Uwāfa ibn Sa’d ibn Zayd Manāt were referred to as a separate group.<sup>398</sup>

<sup>384</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 272.

<sup>385</sup>*Naqā’id*, II, 911. The eponym, Sa’d, was nicknamed al-Fizr; *Lisān al-‘Arab*, V, 54, s.v.; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sa’d b. Zayd Manāt al-Fizr (F. Krenkow).

<sup>386</sup>*Sharḥ nahj*, XV, 126.

<sup>387</sup>Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 423.

<sup>388</sup>Sam‘ānī, III, 255, s.v.

<sup>389</sup>This happened when Mas‘ūd ibn ‘Amr al-‘Atakī was killed; *Muḥabbar*, 254; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Aḥnaf b. Qays (Ch. Pellat).

<sup>390</sup>Cf. *Khizāna*, I, 410 (except one, Ka‘b ibn Sa’d).

<sup>391</sup>*Lubāb*, I, 26. Cf. Balādhurī (MS), 1018a (*al-Ajārīb wa-humu l-buṭūn*).

<sup>392</sup>*Naqā’id*, I, 150.

<sup>393</sup>*Aghānī*, XII, 152 (*Muqā‘is wa-l-buṭūn*, ‘*Awf wa-l-abnā’*). The ‘Awf to whom al-Zibriqān belonged were not of the Abnā’; the text in Balādhurī, I, 530, looks garbled. When the children of Sa’d ibn ‘Amr ibn Ka‘b ibn Sa’d ibn Zayd Manāt formed an alliance among them, the Muqā‘is drew back (*taqā‘asa*), and hence their nickname; Ṭabarānī, *Kabīr*, XVIII, 336.

<sup>394</sup>See further on the vocalization of the name, *Īnās*, 210; *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 38.

<sup>395</sup>*Lubāb*, II, 316. ‘Abshams’s name was Maqrū‘; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 78. For a subdivision of the ‘Abshams called Wābīsh see *Aghānī*, XX, 171; *Jumāhī*, I, 504–505.

<sup>396</sup>Hinds, “Banners”, 24.

<sup>397</sup>Sam‘ānī, V, 396; Dāraqutnī, *Mu’talif*, IV, 2163 (Ḥajjāj’s *shurṭa* chief).

<sup>398</sup>*Muḥabbar*, 183.



Most Sa'dīs belonged to the Ka'b ibn Sa'd line.<sup>399</sup> The pattern of two brothers singled out from the others is repeated here: two of Ka'b's sons, Mālik and Ka'b, or 'Awf and Ka'b, were called *al-mazrū'āni* "because of their large number ('*adad*) and their numerous herds" (*amwāl*).<sup>400</sup> The rest of Ka'b's sons (who numbered seven, or five), were called al-Ajārib,<sup>401</sup> or "the scabby ones", because they slaughtered a scabby camel, ate its flesh, dipped their hands in its blood and concluded an alliance.<sup>402</sup>

'Amr ibn Ka'b's son, Muqā'is (al-Ḥārith; *nisba*: al-Muqā'isī)<sup>403</sup> fathered several tribal groups. The Ṣuraym ibn Muqā'is (or Ṣuraym ibn al-Ḥārith;<sup>404</sup> *nisba*: al-Ṣuraymī)<sup>405</sup> were the group of the founders (or alleged founders) of two Khārijite sects, the Ṣufriyya and the Ibādiyya.<sup>406</sup> Another Ṣuraymī was the Khārijite who tried to assassinate Mu'āwiya, al-Burak ibn 'Abdallāh.<sup>407</sup> Among Muqā'is's offspring, the most significant line was that of 'Ubayd ibn Muqā'is. All of 'Ubayd's children but Minqar (*nisba*: al-Minqarī)<sup>408</sup> were called al-Lubad or al-Libad<sup>409</sup> because they were unified (or "stuck together") against the Murra ibn Minqar (*talabbadū 'alā Banī Murra ibn Minqar*). Their central component was the Murra ibn 'Ubayd, the group of al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays. Indeed al-Aḥnaf was

<sup>399</sup> *Sharḥ nahj*, XV, 126.

<sup>400</sup> Balādhurī (MS), 1018a. According to Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 216, the two were 'Amr and Mālik. *Lisān al-ʿarab*, VIII, 141b, s.v. *z.r.ʿ.*, says that the groups in question were Ka'b ibn Sa'd (!) and Mālik ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd.

<sup>401</sup> For a Ḥimmānī leading the Ajārib, i.e., Ḥimmān, Rabī'a, Mālik and al-A'raj, sons of Ka'b, in a raid with the Muqā'is under Qays ibn 'Āsim, see Ibn Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 650 (printed Aḥārith). The Ajārib included two *batns* of the Sa'd, Rabī'a ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd and al-A'raj ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd; *Iqd*, III, 346. They were five tribes (*qabā'il*) of the Sa'd: Rabī'a, Mālik, al-Ḥārith/al-A'raj, 'Abd al-'Uzza/Ḥimmān and al-Ḥarām, sons of Ka'b ibn Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāt; *Naqā'id*, II, 970.

<sup>402</sup> Abū 'Ubayda, quoted in *Naqā'id*, II, 970. 'Amr ibn Jurmūz who killed al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām after the Battle of the Camel (36/656) belonged to one of the Ajārib groups, the Rabī'a ibn Ka'b ibn Sa'd; *Naqā'id*, I, 399, II, 970. On al-Aḥnaf's role in this killing see 'Askarī, *Awā'il*, I, 208–209. Al-Zubayr was under the protection of a Mujashiṭ; *Naqā'id*, I, 80. Jāriya ibn Qudāma (on whom see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Djāriya* b. Qudāma [M.J. Kister]), belonged to these Rabī'a.

<sup>403</sup> *Lubāb*, III, 245.

<sup>404</sup> As they are called in Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 356 (vocalized: Ṣarīm).

<sup>405</sup> *Lubāb*, II, 240; Sam'ānī, III, 538.

<sup>406</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 236. Beside 'Abdallāh al-Ṣaffār there are other versions concerning the founder's identity. According to *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ṣufriyya (W. Madelung), the founder of the Ṣufriyya is almost certainly fictitious. According to others (Ibn Rusta, 217; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 622), 'Abdallāh ibn Ibād was of the Murra ibn 'Ubayd who are mentioned below.

<sup>407</sup> The attempted assassination has a place of honour in the history of Islamic architecture since according to one version, following it Mu'āwiya ordered the building of *maqṣūras*; cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *masdjid*, at VI, 661b (J. Pedersen); Ṭabarī, I, 3465; Ṭabarī, trans., XVII, 223 ("reserved area" in a mosque). Cf. Sauvaget, "La Mosquée omeyyade de Médine", 150.

<sup>408</sup> Sam'ānī, V, 396–98.

<sup>409</sup> See the latter version in Balādhurī (MS), 1018b. Caskel, II, 9, 378, vocalizes: al-Libd (on 378 al-Libad is added between brackets).

referred to not only as al-Sa'dī, but also as al-Murri.<sup>410</sup> Al-Aḥnaf — upon his own testimony — sheltered the Prophet's tax collectors from the Banū Murra who wanted to harm them.<sup>411</sup> Among the Murra ibn 'Ubayd, Banū l-Nazzāl ibn Murra are attested as a group on its own.<sup>412</sup> The two most famous Minqarīs were the Companions Qays ibn 'Aṣim and 'Amr ibn al-Ahtam who was the great-grandfather of the orator Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān.<sup>413</sup>

The other strong subdivision of the Ka'b ibn Sa'd was the 'Awf ibn Ka'b. Among 'Awf's children, the offspring of Quray' ibn 'Awf (*nisba*: al-Quray')<sup>414</sup> included the Banū Anf al-Nāqa or "the she-camel's nose" (*nisba*: al-Anfī).<sup>415</sup> They were ashamed of their nickname, but following a verse by al-Ḥuṭay'a they became proud of it.<sup>416</sup> Four other children of 'Awf formed a group called al-Ajdhā'<sup>417</sup> (or al-Jidhā').<sup>418</sup> The Ajdhā' were half-brothers of the Aḥmāl, a subdivision of the Yarbū' ibn Ḥanzala.<sup>419</sup> Two of the Ajdhā' groups were known through separate *nisbas*, namely the Bahdala ibn 'Awf, the group of al-Zibriqān ibn Badr, and the 'Uṭārid ibn 'Awf.<sup>420</sup> Al-Zibriqān can also be related to a smaller group within the Bahdala: his *raḥṭ*, the Banū Khalaf, included the descendants of his great-grandfather (*jadduhu l-a'lā*), Khalaf ibn 'Awf.<sup>421</sup> Before the advent of Islam a man of the 'Uṭārid was the last to hold an office related to the Meccan pilgrimage, namely the responsibility for giving the signal to start the *ifāda*, or quick paced march from Muzdalifa to Mecca. In later times this was considered one of the greatest merits of the Tamīm.<sup>422</sup>

In another line of the Ajārib, that of 'Abd al-'Uzzā ibn Ka'b, we find the Banū Ḥimmān ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā (*nisba*: al-Ḥimmānī).<sup>423</sup> Finally, the Ḥārith al-A'raj

<sup>410</sup> *Lubāb*, III, 202.

<sup>411</sup> *Nubalā'*, IV, 88.

<sup>412</sup> Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 310. See also *Iṣāba*, IV, 537 (read Murra instead of Sabra); *Uṣd al-ghāba*, IV, 3; *Naqā'id*, index, 233.

<sup>413</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.vv. Qays b. 'Aṣim (M.J. Kister), 'Amr b. al-Ahtam (A.J. Wensinck–Ch. Pellat) and Khālīd b. Ṣafwān (Ch. Pellat).

<sup>414</sup> For the name *Aqārī'* 'Awf (in a verse) see *Khizāna*, II, 446–47.

<sup>415</sup> Sam'ānī, IV, 486; *Lubāb*, III, 31; *Khizāna*, VIII, 487.

<sup>416</sup> *Khizāna*, III, 287–88; *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), II, 181.

<sup>417</sup> Abū 'Ubayd, *Nasab*, 240. *Lubāb*, I, 191, mentions three sons.

<sup>418</sup> Caskel, II, 9; *Khizāna*, VIII, 101, says that their mother was al-Sa'fā', from Bāhila.

<sup>419</sup> *Naqā'id*, I, 305.

<sup>420</sup> Not to be confused with their namesakes from the Dārim.

<sup>421</sup> *Khizāna*, VI, 93, 95.

<sup>422</sup> Karib ibn Ṣafwān was the last to hold this office; *Muḥabbar*, 183 (*fa-kāna ākhīr man afāda bihim*). Elsewhere this becomes a family role passed on from father to son; *Sharḥ naḥj*, XV, 126–27, who quotes Abū 'Ubayda, *Kitāb al-tāj* (*kāna dhālika fī banī 'Uṭārid wa-hum yatawārathūna dhālika kabīran 'an kabīr ḥattā qāma l-islām*). See also Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 206, 219; Kister, "Mecca and Tamīm", 146–47, 152–57; *Naqā'id*, I, 450; II, 1077; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 190, 239; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 257–58. For a list of Tamīmīs who were in charge of the *ifāda* and *mausim* see Balādhurī (MS), 1044a–b. In *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, I, 323, read Karib ibn Ṣafwān instead of al-Ḥārith ibn Ṣafwān.

<sup>423</sup> Sam'ānī, II, 257; *Lubāb*, I, 386. On the Ḥimmānī goat (*tays banī Ḥimmān*) see *Thimār*

ibn Kaʿb, also an Ajārib group, merit mention since Zuhra ibn Ḥawiyya, a hero of the Muslim conquest of Iraq, was one of them.<sup>424</sup>

The main group among the Mālik ibn Zayd Manāt<sup>425</sup> was the Ḥanzala ibn Mālik, (*nisba* al-Ḥanzalī — Ḥanzalat Tamīm, Ḥanzala al-Akramīn).<sup>426</sup> The Ḥanzala in Baṣra were unified.<sup>427</sup> Five (or six,<sup>428</sup> or four<sup>429</sup>) components of the Ḥanzala, viz. the less numerous ones, formed the Barājim group (pl. of *burjuma* or “knuckle”; *nisba*: al-Burjumī) against their brothers Yarbūʿ, Mālik and Rabīʿa, sons of Ḥanzala.<sup>430</sup> The Barājim joined a stronger subdivision of the Ḥanzala: they “were with the ʿAbdallāh ibn Dārim” (probably in secondary status).<sup>431</sup> The Barājim group ʿAmr ibn Ḥanzala appears as a separate group since it had a tax collector of its own.<sup>432</sup>

The Rabīʿa ibn Ḥanzala (or Rabīʿa al-Wuṣṭā) were the group of the Khārījite Mirdās ibn Udayya (Abū Bilāl) and his brother, ʿUrwa.<sup>433</sup> The Rabīʿat al-Jūʿ (*nisba*: al-Rabaʿī) ibn Mālik ibn Zayd Manāt “were with the Nahshal ibn Dārim”.<sup>434</sup>

A genealogy of an Arab tribe, and the Tamīm are no exception, attempts to provide full coverage of its subdivisions and famous figures. The *mawālī* are as a rule excluded from this exclusive Arab domain but for a few very famous ones (below, 63). Genealogies often reflect social and political developments.<sup>435</sup>

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*qulūb*, 377–78.

<sup>424</sup>The king of Hajar is supposed to have sent Zuhra to the Prophet; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, 571a; *Iṣāba*, II, 571–72.

<sup>425</sup>Mālik, said to have been lacking in intelligence (*wa-kāna yuḥammaqu*), was an expert in camel breeding; cf. the saying *ābalu min Mālik ibn Zayd Manāt*; Ḥamza, *Durra fākhirā*, 72. See (in more detail) Jumāhī, I, 29–30. For the epithet Mālik ibn al-Aḥmar see Ibn Abī l-Dunyā, *Ishrāf*, 239.

<sup>426</sup>*Lubāb*, I, 396; *Sharḥ nahj*, XV, 132. See on them *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (W.M. Watt).

<sup>427</sup>Cf. Balādhurī (MS), 983a (Huraym ibn Abī Ṭaḥma was in command of the Ḥanzala of Baṣra in a certain battle). The Prophet reportedly appointed al-Aqraʿ as the tax collector of the Ḥanzala; *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Akraʿ b. Ḥābis (M.J. Kister). However, the statement that al-Aqraʿ was appointed by the Prophet over “part of the *ṣadaqa*-taxes of the Ḥanzala” (*baʿḍ ṣadaqāt Banī Ḥanzala*; Balādhurī [MS], 970a, i.e., those to be paid by the Mujāshiʿ, or by the Dārim as a whole) is probably more accurate.

<sup>428</sup>*Khizāna*, IX, 324.

<sup>429</sup>*Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih*, I, 427.

<sup>430</sup>*Naqāʿid*, I, 186–87. Samʿānī, I, 308–309, s.v. al-Burjumī, mentions Burjumī traditionists from Baṣra, Kūfa and Balkh.

<sup>431</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 194. The Barājim under of al-Aqraʿ ibn Ḥābis al-Mujāshiʿ fought against the Shaybān; Balādhurī (MS), 969b. For a joint expedition of the Mālik ibn Ḥanzala (under al-Aqraʿ) and the Barājim against the Bakr ibn Wāʿil see Balādhurī (MS), 1000b.

<sup>432</sup>*Aghānī*, XIX, 163–64; *Muḥabbbar*, 230.

<sup>433</sup>Also Balādhurī (MS), 1016a; Balādhurī, IV,i, 180–86.

<sup>434</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 193. Hammād ibn Salama al-Rabaʿī was a *mawlā* of Rabīʿat al-Jūʿ; Balādhurī (MS), 1017b; *Lubāb*, II, 16.

<sup>435</sup>Banū l-Mujirr, a subdivision of the Rabīʿa ibn Mālik ibn Zayd Manāt, were originally from Kinda; *Naqāʿid*, I, 5–6 (al-Mujirr *dakhalū fī ḥāʾulāʾi ʿalā ḥilf*). In other words, the alliance formed a new genealogical “fact”. *Īnās*, 247, calls their eponym al-Mijarr: al-Mijarr ibn Rabīʿa

Two brothers of Ḥanzāla and Rabīʿat al-Jūʿ, Qays and Muʿāwiya, were called al-Kurdūsāni or “the two squadrons of cavalry”, because “they used to alight together”.<sup>436</sup> They were “in the midst of the Fuqaym” (Dārim), i.e., they were Fuqaym’s clients.

The most prominent figures among the Yarbūʿ ibn Ḥanzāla (*nisba*: al-Yarbūʿī) at the time of the Prophet were Mālik ibn Nuwayra, the chief of the Yarbūʿ or, more precisely, the Thaʿlaba ibn Yarbūʿ,<sup>437</sup> and his brother, Mutammim ibn Nuwayra. The *nisba* al-Thaʿlabī is attested.<sup>438</sup> Mutammim ibn Nuwayra was put by the Prophet in charge of the taxes of the Yarbūʿ ibn Ḥanzāla or, according to another version, of the Ḥanzāla as a whole.<sup>439</sup> In fact the two brothers belonged to the ʿUbayd ibn Thaʿlaba ibn Yarbūʿ (*nisba*: al-ʿUbaydī).<sup>440</sup> Attacked by the Muslims under Khālīd ibn al-Walīd, Mālik’s battle cry was *yāla ʿUbayd!*,<sup>441</sup> only the Banū Bahān (and some of the Ḥubshī ibn ʿUbayd ibn Thaʿlaba) responded to his call.<sup>442</sup> The Yarbūʿ were one of the *jamarāt al-ʿarab*<sup>443</sup> or “the burning coals of the Arabs”, i.e., the tribes that were able to defend themselves without forming alliances with other tribes. The Jaʿfar ibn Thaʿlaba<sup>444</sup> (*nisba*: al-Jaʿfarī) were the group of the pre-Islamic hero, ʿUtayba ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Shihāb.<sup>445</sup> The ʿArīn ibn Thaʿlaba (*nisba*: al-ʿArīnī)<sup>446</sup> included the Prophet’s Companion Wāqid ibn ʿAbdallāh who became famous through his participation in the expedition of Nakhla.<sup>447</sup> Another Companion from the Yarbūʿ was Ḥabīb ibn Khirāsh, a *ḥalīf* of the Salima subdivision of the Khazraj. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, Ḥabīb participated in the Battle of Badr together with his *mawla*, al-Ṣāmit.<sup>448</sup> The main component of the Yarbūʿ was Riyāḥ ibn Yarbūʿ. The Riyāḥ (*nisba*: al-Riyāḥī)<sup>449</sup> did not attach themselves to Yarbūʿ’s other sons. Four of these sons by the same mother formed a group called al-Aḥmāl, while three other sons

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ibn Mālik ibn Zayd Manāt.

<sup>436</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 228; Balādhurī (MS), 1017a.

<sup>437</sup>*Sayyid Banī Yarbūʿ*; ʿarīf Thaʿlaba ibn Yarbūʿ; *Khizāna*, II, 24–25. In *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Mālik b. Nuwayra (E. Landau-Tasseron), 267a–b, it is stated that Mālik was not sent by the Prophet as a tax collector to the Yarbūʿ or to the larger group Ḥanzāla, but only to the Thaʿlaba ibn Yarbūʿ. Caskel, II, 393, doubts that Mālik ibn Nuwayra was appointed as Yarbūʿ’s tax collector.

<sup>438</sup>*Lubāb*, I, 238.

<sup>439</sup>Balādhurī (MS), 1000a–b.

<sup>440</sup>*Lubāb*, II, 318.

<sup>441</sup>Printed *yā āla ʿUbayd*; *Khizāna*, II, 26.

<sup>442</sup>An early traditionist was referred to as al-Yarbūʿī al-Ḥanzalī (moving from the smaller group to the larger one); Samʿānī, V, 686.

<sup>443</sup>*Thimār qulūb*, 160.

<sup>444</sup>See e.g. *Naqāʾid*, I, 314.

<sup>445</sup>*Lubāb*, I, 283.

<sup>446</sup>Samʿānī, IV, 186, s.v.; *Lisān al-ʿarab*, XIII, 283b, s.v. *Lubāb*, II, 337, has: al-ʿUraynī(!).

<sup>447</sup>He also participated in the Battle of Badr; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 218–19.

<sup>448</sup>Balādhurī (MS), 1000a; *Iṣāba*, II, 18.

<sup>449</sup>Samʿānī, III, 111.

formed a group called al-‘Uqad (or al-‘Uqadā’).<sup>450</sup> The latter made an alliance (*ta‘āqadū*) against the Riyāḥ, but on other occasions the Riyāḥ were with the latter against the former.<sup>451</sup>

Beside the above mentioned groups, namely the Tha‘laba ibn Yarbū‘ and the ‘Ubayd ibn Tha‘laba, there were other separate groups among the Aḥmāl such as the Ḍibārī ibn ‘Ubayd (*nisba*: al-Ḍibārī)<sup>452</sup> and the Salīṭ ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Yarbū‘ (*nisba*: al-Salīṭī).<sup>453</sup> Separate groups among the ‘Uqad were the Ghudāna ibn Yarbū‘ (one of whom was Ḥāritha ibn Badr al-Ghudānī),<sup>454</sup> Ṣubayr ibn Yarbū‘,<sup>455</sup> Kulayb ibn Yarbū‘ (one of whom was the poet Jarīr) and the smaller group ‘Uqfān that descended from al-‘Anbar ibn Yarbū‘.<sup>456</sup>

The dominant group among the Mālik ibn Ḥanzala (according to some, among the Tamīm as a whole) was the Dārim ibn Mālik, or rather the ‘Abdallāh ibn Dārim.<sup>457</sup> (One should not expect unanimity on such matters.) The offspring of Mālik’s other sons formed three groups. The *nisba* al-Ṭuhawī<sup>458</sup> belonged to the children of Ṭuhayya who was the mother of two (or three, or four) of Mālik’s sons. The two most commonly mentioned are ‘Awf and Abū Sūd (or Abū Sawd), but some add Jushaysh (*nisba*: al-Jushayshī), or Jushaysh and (al-)Ṣudayy.<sup>459</sup> Most genealogists, however, include (al-)Ṣudayy in another group of Mālik’s descendants whose members were called, again after their mother, Banū l-‘Adawiyya (or Bal‘adawiyya; *nisba*: al-‘Adawī). It included the offspring of Mālik’s sons, Zayd, Yarbū‘ and (al-)Ṣudayy.<sup>460</sup> The Banū Ṭuhayya and Banū l-‘Adawiyya formed the Jimār group and “were with the Yarbū’”. Yet another group of Mālik ibn Ḥanzala’s descendants, al-Khishāb (or al-Khashabāt, and al-Akhshabānī),<sup>461</sup> included the offspring of Mālik’s sons, Rabī‘a, Rizām and Ka‘b.<sup>462</sup> The Rabī‘a — that is Rabī‘a al-Ṣughrā<sup>463</sup> — and Rizām were incorporated in (*wa-hum fi*) the

<sup>450</sup>Caskel, II, 9n (‘Uqadā’).

<sup>451</sup>For a subdivision of the Riyāḥ called Ḥimyarī ibn Riyāḥ ibn Yarbū‘ see *Khizāna*, I, 389.

<sup>452</sup>A *baṭn*; Sam‘ānī, IV, 8; *Lubāb*, II, 259–60; Dāraqutnī, *Mu’talif*, III, 1469.

<sup>453</sup>Sam‘ānī, III, 284. For the Banū Zubayd ibn Salīṭ see *Naqā’id*, I, 10; II, 581 (*banū Zubayd min Banī Salīṭ*).

<sup>454</sup>Sam‘ānī, IV, 283; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (H. Lammens–Ch. Pellat).

<sup>455</sup>*Dīwān Suhaym*, 15.

<sup>456</sup>Ḥizām ibn Yarbū‘, the *raḥṭ* of Sajāḥ, is mentioned in Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 77. See also *Lubāb*, II, 350 (‘Uqfān ibn Suwayd ibn Khālīd ibn Usāma ibn al-‘Anbar).

<sup>457</sup>*Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, I, 191, 186.

<sup>458</sup>The forms al-Ṭuhwī and al-Ṭahwī are also attested.

<sup>459</sup>Sam‘ānī, IV, 89, quotes the three versions concerning the *nisba* from Abū ‘Ubayd, *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*. See also Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 77; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 233; *Naqā’id*, index, 92. The reading Jushaysh is confirmed by *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, index.

<sup>460</sup>The *dūr Banī l-‘Adawiyya* in Baṣra are mentioned in Balādhurī, IV,i, 407.

<sup>461</sup>In a variant of a verse; *Naqā’id*, I, 223.

<sup>462</sup>I could not find a *nisba* “al-Khishābī”. Cf. *Naqā’id*, I, 434 (Rabī‘a and Rizām only). *Ṭuhayya wa-l-Khishāb* mentioned in a verse by Jarīr are unfavourably compared to *Tha‘laba l-fawāris* and Riyāḥ; *Khizāna*, XI, 69.

<sup>463</sup>See the three Rabā’ī in *Naqā’id*, I, 186.

Nahshal ibn Dārim,<sup>464</sup> while the Kaʿb “were with the Fuqaym” (Dārim). The Rabīʿa did not carry their eponym’s name but rather that of his son, al-ʿUjayf, which was far more distinctive.<sup>465</sup>

Among the Dārim ibn Mālik ibn Ḥaṇẓala (*nisba*: al-Dārimī)<sup>466</sup> one can discern independent tribal groups through their *nisbas*: Nahshal ibn Dārim (*nisba*: al-Nahshalī)<sup>467</sup> — Nahshal had six sons, the descendants of three of whom were combined under the name al-Aḥjār; Manāf ibn Dārim (*nisba*: al-Manāfī)<sup>468</sup> — they “were with the Qaṭan ibn Nahshal”, a Nahshal subdivision; Sadūs ibn Dārim (*nisba*: al-Sadūsī);<sup>469</sup> Abān ibn Dārim, who “were with the Fuqaym ibn Jarīr ibn Dārim” (*nisba*: al-Fuqaymī);<sup>470</sup> and Mujāshiʿ ibn Dārim (*nisba*: al-Mujāshiʿī).<sup>471</sup> A biographical dictionary, with reference to a certain *muḥaddith* or traditionist, uses four *nisbas* while moving from the general to the particular: al-Tamīmī, *thumma* al-Ḥaṇẓalī, *thumma* al-Dārimī, *thumma* al-Mujāshiʿī.<sup>472</sup> The three best known Mujāshiʿīs were al-Aqraʿ (“the bald”, his real name was Firās or Ḍull) ibn Ḥābis, al-Farazdaq and al-Ḥārith ibn Surayj.<sup>473</sup>

The dominant line among the ʿAbdallāh ibn Dārim was that of Zayd ibn ʿAbdallāh. All of Zayd’s descendants but one were allied with each other and formed a group called al-Aḥlāf, the exception being ʿUdus<sup>474</sup> ibn Zayd who made an alliance (*fa-innahu yad*) with his “paternal uncles”, the sons of ʿAbdallāh ibn Dārim.<sup>475</sup> Among ʿUdus’s offspring, the *nisba* al-ʿUṭāridī belonged to the children of ʿUṭārid ibn Ḥājib ibn Zurāra.<sup>476</sup> During the early Umayyad period ʿUṭārid’s grandson, Muḥammad ibn ʿUmayr, was “the *sayyid* of the people of Kūfa in his time” and the chief of the *rubʿ* of the Tamīm and Hamdān there.

<sup>464</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 194–95.

<sup>465</sup>Balādhurī, V (Goitein), 151 (al-Ḥantaf ibn al-Sijf in al-Rabadha; his father was killed in the Battle of the Camel; Khalīfa, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 210). An ʿUjayfī was in command of the cavalry of the Ḥaṇẓala in Baṣra during the affair of Masʿūd ibn ʿAmr al-ʿAtakī; Balādhurī, IV, i, 468.

<sup>466</sup>Samʿānī, II, 440. The famous *ḥadīth* compiler al-Dārimī is said to have belonged to the Dārim; but with an ancestor called Bahrām (Mizzī, XV, 210: *min banī Dārim* . . .) he could hardly have been of Arab origin and must have been a *mawlā*. See on him *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (J. Robson).

<sup>467</sup>*Lubāb*, III, 338.

<sup>468</sup>Abū Muḥriz Wāṣil ibn Shabīb al-Manāfī was an informant of Jumaḥī, I, 28. The ʿAbd Manāf ibn Dārim, mentioned in *Muḥabbar*, 327, are probably the same group.

<sup>469</sup>*Lubāb*, II, 109.

<sup>470</sup>Samʿānī, IV, 396; *Lubāb*, II, 437.

<sup>471</sup>Samʿānī, V, 198. A subdivision of the Mujāshiʿ called Banū l-Abyaḍ ibn Mujāshiʿ is known to have existed; *Khizāna*, II, 318, à propos of Khīṭām al-Mujāshiʿī.

<sup>472</sup>Mizzī, III, 308, s.v. Aṣbagh ibn Nubāta. Sometimes the genealogists go in the other direction, from the smaller group to the larger one; above, 60n.

<sup>473</sup>See their respective entries in *EI*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>474</sup>This was Ibn al-Kalbī’s vocalization of the name; Abū ʿUbayda and Ibn al-Aʿrābī called him ʿUdas; see *Īnās*, 207.

<sup>475</sup>Lecker, “Were customs dues levied at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad?”, 29–30 = no. VII in this volume.

<sup>476</sup>Not to be confused with an identical *nisba* mentioned above. To prevent such confusion an Egyptian traditionist was referred to as al-Ḥājibī al-ʿUṭāridī; Samʿānī, IV, 208.

When the Tamīm turned to him regarding a matter of blood-wit, he set the portions to be paid by his own tribal group, the Ḥaṇẓala ibn Mālīk, as well as those due from the ‘Amr (ibn Tamīm) and the Sa’d (ibn Zayd Manāt ibn Tamīm).<sup>477</sup> The pedigree of al-Mundhir ibn Sāwā, the governor of Hajar at the time of the Prophet, goes back to one of the Aḥlāf groups, namely the ‘Abdallāh ibn Zayd ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Dārim. After the Conquests the ‘Abdallāh ibn Zayd emigrated from Hajar to Baṣra, where they became the clients of the ‘Abdallāh ibn Dārim (*wa-kānū fihim*). They remained in this inferior status until Ṣa‘b ibn Nahshal of the ‘Abdallāh ibn Dārim, in the days of the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II, brought a letter from the caliph ordering his governor in Baṣra, Salm ibn Qutayba al-Bāhili, to “attach” the ‘Abdallāh ibn Zayd to the ‘Abdallāh ibn Dārim (*an yulḥiqahum bi-banī ‘Abdillāh ibn Dārim*, i.e., in the register of ‘aṭā’ receivers).<sup>478</sup>

The ‘Amr ibn Tamīm branch (‘Amr al-Ashaddīn)<sup>479</sup> included several subdivisions, the most important being Banū l-‘Anbar (or Bal‘anbar) ibn ‘Amr (*nisba*: al-‘Anbarī).<sup>480</sup> The rest of the Tamīm pejoratively called them: [Banū] l-Ja‘rā.<sup>481</sup> The ‘Adī ibn Jundab ibn al-‘Anbar (*nisba*: al-‘Adawī)<sup>482</sup> and the ‘Amr ibn Jundab ibn al-‘Anbar were groups on their own.<sup>483</sup> Al-Ḥārith ibn ‘Amr was given the derogatory nickname al-Ḥabiṭ<sup>484</sup> and his offspring were known as al-Ḥabiṭāt (*nisba*: al-Ḥabaṭī).<sup>485</sup> ‘Abbādān near Baṣra was called after one of them, the *murābiṭ* (or the warrior keeping post facing the enemy) ‘Abbād ibn al-Ḥuṣayn whose fame helped the Ḥabiṭāt refute claims against their prestige.<sup>486</sup> The main component of the Mālīk ibn ‘Amr ibn Tamīm was the Māzin ibn Mālīk (*nisba*: al-Māzinī).<sup>487</sup> Famous philologists belonged to the Māzin (or were *mawālī* of the Māzin). Abū ‘Uthmān al-Māzinī al-Naḥwī appears as an Arab in the genealogy of the Māzin, but his mention is followed by a remark to the effect that he was a

<sup>477</sup>Balādhurī (MS), 960b.

<sup>478</sup>Balādhurī, *Ansāb* (MS), 967b. Banū ‘Abdallāh emigrated from Hajar to Baṣra with the ‘Abd al-Qays, and hence both were called al-Hajariyyūna; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 234.

<sup>479</sup>*Sharḥ nahj*, XV, 132.

<sup>480</sup>Sam‘ānī, IV, 245–48; *Lubāb*, II, 360.

<sup>481</sup>*Lisān al-‘Arab*, IV, 140–41, s.v. *j.‘.r.*; *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 183; *Waq‘at Ṣiffīn*, 361. Cf. *Aghānī*, XVIII, 199. The genealogist al-Ḥantaf ibn Yazīd (above, 54n) belonged to a subdivision of al-‘Anbar called Banū l-Mundhir; Jāhiz, *Bayān*, I, 318.

<sup>482</sup>*Lubāb*, II, 330. Not to be confused with the identical *nisba* mentioned above.

<sup>483</sup>Jāhiz, *Bayān*, I, 320; III, 101.

<sup>484</sup>*Wa-‘uyyirū bi-dhālīka*; *Khizāna*, X, 213. Cf. *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 10 (where the pedigree is wrong).

<sup>485</sup>*Lubāb*, I, 337; Sam‘ānī, II, 169; *Khizāna*, X, 208, 211–12.

<sup>486</sup>*Khizāna*, X, 212.

<sup>487</sup>On whom see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (G. Levi Della Vida).

*mawlā*.<sup>488</sup> The Baṣran *qārī* Abū ‘Amr ibn al-‘Alā<sup>489</sup> is included in the genealogy of the Māzin with an immaculate Arab pedigree.<sup>490</sup> But in one passage he disputes accusations that he was of non-Arab descent.<sup>491</sup> Al-Naḍr ibn Shumayl al-Māzinī was among Abū ‘Amr’s students (*wa-huwa min ghilmān Abī ‘Amr ibn al-‘Alā*).<sup>492</sup> Further *nisbas* among the Māzin were al-Anmārī, after Anmār ibn Māzin,<sup>493</sup> and al-Khuzā‘ī, after Khuzā‘ī ibn Māzin.<sup>494</sup> One of the Khuzā‘ī was in command of the Tamīm while they attacked the Sulaym at al-Dathīna (or al-Dafīna).<sup>495</sup> The Khārijite leader Qaṭarī ibn al-Fujā’a who rebelled at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr<sup>496</sup> is said to have belonged to a subdivision of the Māzin called Banū Kābiya.<sup>497</sup> Other groups among the Mālik ibn ‘Amr were the Ḥirmāz ibn Mālik (*nisba*: al-Ḥirmāzī)<sup>498</sup> and the Ghaylān ibn Mālik (*nisba*: al-Ghaylānī).<sup>499</sup> A number of tribal groups of the ‘Amr ibn Tamīm, among them the Ḥirmāz and Ghaylān, were collectively known as (al-)Ḥishshān or (al-)Ḥishhān.<sup>500</sup> Further subdivisions of the ‘Amr ibn Tamīm were al-Hujaym ibn ‘Amr<sup>501</sup> or Balhujaym (*nisba*: al-Hujaymī)<sup>502</sup> and Usayyid (or Usayd) ibn ‘Amr (*nisba*: al-Usayyidī or al-Usaydī).<sup>503</sup> The vocalization of the last-mentioned name was disputed between the *muḥaddithūn* or traditionists and the *nuḥāt* or grammarians: the former chose

<sup>488</sup> Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 212 (*wa-qīla bal huwa mawlan*); *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Māzinī, Abū ‘Uthmān Bakr b. Muḥammad (R. Sellheim). According to Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, II, 757, he was of the Māzin ibn Shaybān (Bakr ibn Wā’il). *GAS*, VIII, 92, does not mention a tribal affiliation.

<sup>489</sup> *GAS*, VIII, 50.

<sup>490</sup> van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, II, 370–71; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 212; Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, III, 1316–17; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 76.

<sup>491</sup> *Nūr al-qabas*, 25 (*innī da‘ī? fa-law kuntu mudda‘iyan la-’dda‘aytu ilā man huwa ashraf mimman anā minhu*). See also Abū ‘Amr’s statement that he was of the Māzin while his *walā’* belonged to the ‘Anbar; *TMD*, LXVII, 107. When Abū ‘Ubayda was told that his rival Aṣma‘ī claimed a false genealogy (*da‘ī*), he remarked: “Liar, no one claims a false descent from Aṣma’”; Lecker, “Biographical notes on Abū ‘Ubayda Ma‘mar ibn al-Muthannā”, 84, n. 53. In *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (R. Blachère) doubts are expressed concerning Abū ‘Amr’s alleged Arab origin: “This scholar seems to have claimed a genealogy connecting him with the Arab tribe of Māzin of the confederation of Tamīm”.

<sup>492</sup> Balādhurī (MS), 1066a.

<sup>493</sup> *Lubāb*, I, 91, s.v.

<sup>494</sup> *Lubāb*, I, 440.

<sup>495</sup> *Naqā’id*, I, 392, notes; Lecker, *The Banū Sulaym*, 153.

<sup>496</sup> *Nubalā’*, IV, 151.

<sup>497</sup> *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qaṭarī b. al-Fudjā’a (G. Levi Della Vida); Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 212. Qaṭarī carried the banner of the Dabba at Ṣiffīn; Hinds, “Banners”, 19. However, his affiliation to the Tamīm appears to have been doubted; Ash‘arī, *Ansāb*, 73 (*wa-qad nasabahu qawm fī Banī Tamīm*).

<sup>498</sup> *Lubāb*, I, 359; Sam‘ānī, II, 206. They were not particularly proud of this *nisba*; *Nūr al-qabas*, 208. They were known as al-Jurd or “the hairless ones”; Lughda, 319.

<sup>499</sup> Abū l-Jarbā’ al-Ghaylānī was killed in the Battle of the Camel; Khalīfa, *Ta’rikh*, I, 210.

<sup>500</sup> *Īnās*, 133; Ibn Ḥabīb, *Mukhtalif*, 336.

<sup>501</sup> Sam‘ānī, V, 627–28 (also the name of their *maḥalla* in Baṣra); *Lubāb*, III, 381–82.

<sup>502</sup> Lughda, 267; Khalīfa, *Ta’rikh*, I, 210. A group called Banū Anmār ibn al-Hujaym is attested in the sources; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 319; *Naqā’id*, II, 697.

<sup>503</sup> Sam‘ānī, I, 159.



to call them Usayyid, while the latter preferred Usayd.<sup>504</sup> The mother of three of ʿAmr’s sons, al-ʿAnbar, al-Hujaym and Usayyid, was reportedly the notorious Umm Khārija.<sup>505</sup> Along the Jurwa ibn Usayyid line we find several famous pre-Islamic arbiters<sup>506</sup> and Aktham ibn Ṣayfī (*ḥakīm al-ʿarab*).<sup>507</sup> Aktham’s nephew was the above mentioned scribe of the Prophet, Ḥanzala ibn al-Rabīʿ. More specifically, Ḥanzala belonged to a tribal group (*batn*) called Banū Shurayf<sup>508</sup> (*nisba*: al-Shurayfī).<sup>509</sup> Ḥanzala was also a warrior.<sup>510</sup> At the time of ʿUthmān, he was the governor’s deputy in Kūfa. Sayf ibn ʿUmar too belonged to the Usayyid.<sup>511</sup>

The least important branch of the Tamīm was Ḥārith ibn Tamīm and its members were incorporated as clients into the Nahshal.<sup>512</sup> Rather than referring to the members of this branch by the *nisba* al-Ḥārithī, the more distinctive al-Shaqarī or al-Shaqirī was preferred; al-Shaqira was the nickname of al-Ḥārith’s son, Muʿāwiya.<sup>513</sup>

This description of Tamīm’s subdivisions is based on the genealogical literature which captures the genealogical structure of the tribe shortly before the advent of Islam and during the early Islamic period. However, the genealogy of the Tamīm and indeed that of every other tribe was in a constant state of transformation, adapting itself to changing ecological, social and political circumstances. This is particularly true of the early Islamic period when many Tamīmī groups were dispersed over large areas outside Arabia; in addition, Tamīmīs who were genealogically remote from each other settled together in the garrison cities.

The genealogical shifts can be demonstrated by the history of the Banū l-ʿAmm who were probably Persians (or Persianized Arabs) from Ahwāz<sup>514</sup> and were said to have been a *batn* of the Tamīm. Other statements, perhaps reflecting earlier stages in their tribal affiliation, relate them to the Azd or Tanūkh.<sup>515</sup> Al-

<sup>504</sup>Lubāb, I, 61; *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih*, I, 222 (*aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth* and *ahl al-lughā*).

<sup>505</sup>Khizāna, VI, 375.

<sup>506</sup>Cf. Kister, “Mecca and Tamīm”, 145; *idem*, “Strangers”, 121–22.

<sup>507</sup>ET<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (M.J. Kister).

<sup>508</sup>Ibn Qutayba, *Maʿārif*, 299.

<sup>509</sup>Samʿānī, s.v., III, 425; *Lubāb*, s.v., II, 195.

<sup>510</sup>In the Battle of Qādisiyya, Ḥanzala carried the *liwāʾ* of Tamīm, Asad, Ghāṭafān and Hawāzin; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 268.

<sup>511</sup>See e.g. Ibn Mākūlā, I, 74; Kister, “Strangers”, 136–37 (Ḥanzala and his brother Rabāḥ or Riyāḥ). On Sayf see also ET<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (F.M. Donner). For the *nisba* al-Kaʿbī, after Kaʿb ibn ʿAmr ibn Tamīm, see *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, 139 (the poet ʿUyayna ibn Mirdās).

<sup>512</sup>*Ḥulafāʾ fī . . .*; *ʿidāduhum maʿa . . .*; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 192.

<sup>513</sup>Samʿānī, III, 443–44; *Lubāb*, II, 202. One of the Ḥārith, Kharasha ibn Masʿūd, was appointed by the rebel Ibn al-Ashʿath as the governor of Darābjird; Balādhurī (MS), 958a.

<sup>514</sup>In ET<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Maysān, VI, 920b (M. Morony) it is stated that they were natives of Maysān. Morony, *Iraq*, 249, n. 93, argues that they came from Manādhir and Nahr Tīrā.

<sup>515</sup>Massignon, *Baṣra*, 68, says they were Tanūkhī Christian weavers from Manādhir and several other places, former clients of Hurmuzān who became clients of the Mujāshiʿ.

‘Amm is supposed to have been the nickname of Murra ibn Mālik ibn Ḥaṇẓala ibn Mālik ibn Zayd Manāt.<sup>516</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, in the relevant section of his *Jamharat al-nasab*, does not mention a son of Mālik ibn Ḥaṇẓala called Murra. But elsewhere he says that Banū l-‘Amm, originally the offspring of Murra ibn Wā’il ibn ‘Amr of the Azd, were incorporated into the Tamīm, declaring themselves descendants of Murra ibn Mālik ibn Ḥaṇẓala [ibn Mālik] ibn Zayd Manāt ibn Tamīm.<sup>517</sup> According to Abū ‘Ubayda,<sup>518</sup> al-‘Amm was the nickname (*laqab*) of Murra ibn Wā’il ibn ‘Amr ibn Mālik ibn Ḥaṇẓala ibn Fahm of the Azd “and they are the Banū l-‘Amm (who are) in the midst of the Tamīm”.<sup>519</sup>

The Banū l-‘Amm settled in Baṣra among the Tamīm at the time of ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb. They excelled in fighting alongside the Muslims and were incorporated into the Tamīm as brothers and *banū l-‘amm* or “cousins”, which in due course became their name. In the sixties of the first century A.H. the Banū l-‘Amm were fighting in Baṣra alongside the Ḥaṇẓala ibn Mālik and the rest of the Tamīm against the Azd.<sup>520</sup>

In the Islamic period Tamīmī *nisbas* so far unknown from the early genealogical literature came into being to match the new situation. Not all of them belonged to tribal groups in the proper sense of the word; the offspring of some famous figures came to be known through *nisbas* going back to their ancestors. For example, a person called al-Aḥnafī who lived in Jūzjān during the 3rd/9th century was a descendant (or alleged descendant) of al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays.<sup>521</sup>

<sup>516</sup>Māmaqānī, I, 46: *wa-l-‘Amm huwa Murra ibn Mālik ibn Ḥaṇẓala ibn Mālik ibn Zayd Manāt, wa-huwa mimman dakhala fī Tanūkh bi-l-ḥilf wa-sakana l-Ahwāz*. According to Jarīr (Aghānī, III, 76; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Nahr Tīrā), the ‘Amm were non-Arab agriculturalists and belonged in Ahwāz and Nahr Tīrā.

<sup>517</sup>Sam‘ānī, IV, 242–43 (*Murra hādhā min wuld ‘Amr ibn Mālik wa-huwa l-Azdī, wa-huwa Murra ibn Wā’il ibn ‘Amr, wa-hum banū l-‘Ammī lladhīna fī banī Tamīm, hādhā nasabuhum, thumma qālū: huwa Murra ibn Mālik ibn Ḥaṇẓala ibn [Mālik ibn] Zayd Manāt ibn Tamīm*); *Lubāb*, II, 359 (Murra ibn Wā’il ibn ‘Amr ibn Mālik ibn Fahm ibn Ghanm ibn Daws); Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 233 (the Banū l-‘Amm say that they are the descendants of Murr [*sic*] ibn Mālik who is nicknamed al-‘Awf).

<sup>518</sup>Māmaqānī, I, 46.

<sup>519</sup>Another version which follows in Māmaqānī, possibly going back to Abū ‘Ubayda as well, has it that al-‘Amm was the nickname of Murra ibn Ḥaṇẓala ibn Mālik ibn Zayd Manāt ibn Tamīm.

<sup>520</sup>Balādhurī, IV,i, 414. At the time of Yazīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik an ‘Ammī called Khalaf ibn Ziyād was the *naqīb* (*wa-kānat ilayhi niqābat . . .*) of the Mālik ibn Ḥaṇẓala in Baṣra; Balādhurī (MS), 980a. See also the case of the ‘Amr ibn Ḥunjūd who came from Ḥaḍramawt and were incorporated into Tamīm’s genealogy; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 255–56. For further details on them see Balādhurī (MS), 1060a. On the territory of Ḥunjūd see Lughda, 249–50. It was said that the Abān ibn Dārim were originally from Sinbis, a subdivision of the Tay’; Balādhurī (MS), 989a–b. The Banū Mu‘āwiya ibn Kulayb ibn Yarbū’ were said to have been from the Murra of Ghatafān; Balādhurī (MS), 1015a.

<sup>521</sup>Sam‘ānī, I, 91–92.

### 7.3

Tamīm's territory before Islam was in Najd around Yamāma, and it extended to the Gulf, Baṣra and al-ʿUdhayb near Kūfa.<sup>522</sup> They owned several rich grazing areas such as Ḥazn Banī Yarbūʿ, where the Yarbūʿ camped during springtime, al-Falj where the Dārim and ʿAnbar grazed their herds<sup>523</sup> and al-Dahnā.<sup>524</sup> Watering places belonging to a certain tribal group often carried the group's name; al-Ḥimmāniyya belonged to the Ḥimmān<sup>525</sup> and al-Ruqayʿī (still known today as al-Ruqʿī) belonged to the Banū Ruqayʿ, a subdivision of the ʿAdī ibn Jundab ibn al-ʿAnbar.<sup>526</sup> A geographer's account of the *manāzil* or "territory" of the ʿAdī ibn Jundab specifies their *maḥāḍir* or "summertime watering places" and the boundaries of the desert land where they pastured their camels during the pastoral period.<sup>527</sup>

Not all Tamīmīs were nomadic before Islam. Many of them were semi-nomads, engaging in farming part of the year, or sedentary people inhabiting the oases and villages of al-Washm and eastern Arabia. However, tribal tradition which is dominated by nomadic values is unlikely to provide detailed evidence about the Tamīmī agriculturalists. The ʿIbād or Christian Arabs of Ḥīra, some of whom were of Tamīmī origin (or claimed such origin) were presumably sedentary.<sup>528</sup> But the Tamīmī ʿAdī ibn Zayd al-ʿIbādī, reportedly a hunting enthusiast, only stayed in Ḥīra during winter, spending the rest of the time in the desert, more precisely in the desert (or pasturing grounds, *mabdan*) of the Yarbūʿ. Like his father before him, ʿAdī had camels grazing in the land of the Tamīm, more precisely in the land of the Ḍabba (who were closely linked with the Tamīm) and the Saʿd.<sup>529</sup>

In the early Islamic period more and more Tamīmīs settled in permanent settlements (*ḥawāḍir*) and towns (*quran*), while other tribes gradually claimed parts of their territory.<sup>530</sup> However, it appears that in the early days of Islam

<sup>522</sup>Due to the size of their land and their roaming around it in the nomadic period, the Tamīm were one of the *arḥāʾ al-ʿarab*, or "the mill-stones of the Arabs" (*wa-humu lladhīna ghalabū ʿalā diyār wa-miyyāh jalīla wāsiʿa wa-dārū ḥawlahā dawarāna l-raḥā ḥawla quṭbihā, wa-lam yakun li-ghayrihā mina l-ʿarab mithluhā*); *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, I, 415 (quoting Abū ʿUbayda). For detailed evidence about their territory see Lughda, *passim*; see also the relevant entries and maps in Thilo, *Ortsnamen*.

<sup>523</sup>von Oppenheim, III, 164, 166. Cf. the grazing grounds between Falj and al-Ṣammān; *Aghānī*, IX, 78.

<sup>524</sup>*EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v., II, 92b (C.D. Mathews).

<sup>525</sup>Lughda, 350.

<sup>526</sup>In fact it was a *thamad*; Lane, 352b; Lughda, 247.

<sup>527</sup>*Fa-hādhīhi maḥāḍiruhum fī qayṣihim wa-masqā amwālihīm, wa-yatabaddawna fī l-ṣaḥrāʾ bayna . . .*; Lughda, 246–48.

<sup>528</sup>Cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 249–50; Balādhurī (MS), 1053a–b (al-Sawādiyya, "a village in Kūfa" called after a grandson of ʿAdī ibn Zayd called Sawād); Kister, "Ḥīra", 152.

<sup>529</sup>*Yabdū fī faṣlayi l-sana fa-yuqimu fī Jafīr* (read: *Ḥafīr*) *wa-yashtū bi-l-Ḥīra*; *Aghānī*, II, 22.

<sup>530</sup>*Nashwat al-ṭarab*, I, 415; Qalqashandī, *Nihāya*, 188. The Yarbūʿ ibn Ḥanzala lived in the Yamāma area; *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, I, 448. The town (or fortress, *ḥiṣn*) Uthayfiya in al-Washm belonged to the Kulayb ibn Yarbūʿ; most of it belonged to the offspring of the poet Jarīr;

most of the Tamīmīs remained pastoral (or semi-nomadic), reluctant to abandon their fine grazing grounds and watering places; hence the frequent mention of the tribe's nomadic sections in the genealogical literature.<sup>531</sup> Presumably, after the Conquests most Tamīmīs returned to their Arabian territories,<sup>532</sup> although in theory they now had access to better grazing grounds. Qays ibn ʿĀṣim (Minqar – Saʿd) whom the Prophet called, apparently approving of his nomadic way of life, “the leader of the people of the tents” (i.e., the nomads) is said to have alighted (*nazala*, i.e., temporarily) in Baṣra.<sup>533</sup> Al-Zibriqān ibn Badr (Bahdala) who used to alight (*yanzilu*) in the land of the Tamīm in the *bādiya* of Baṣra, often stayed (*yanzilu*) in Baṣra. There are similar statements regarding two other illustrious leaders of the Tamīm in early Islam, namely al-Aqraʿ ibn Ḥābis (Mujāshiʿ) and ʿAmr ibn al-Ahtam (Minqar – Saʿd).<sup>534</sup> But now they were no longer nomads begging for permission to graze their herds on the fringes of the sown land.<sup>535</sup> The Tamīmīs who settled in Iraq in the early Islamic period were not cut off from their nomadic brothers, who formed a kind of military, political and occasionally economic hinterland, strengthening the position of their settled fellow-tribesmen.<sup>536</sup>

## 7.4

Beside the battles described in the *ayyām* literature, Tamīm's historiography of the pre-Islamic period is dominated by two crucial relationships, with the Sassanians and Ḥīra and with Mecca. Let us turn first to the Sassanian/Ḥīran connection. The Tamīm, among other tribes, were instrumental in the transportation and protection of Sassanian and Ḥīran trade. In connection with trade and control of the desert tribes, the military aspect of Tamīm's cooperation with Ḥīra was essential. Certain tribes helped subdue other tribes, from time to time interchanging their roles according to Ḥīra's tribal politics. Tribal alliances were generally volatile, although Tamīm's willingness to fight for the rulers of Ḥīra and for their Sassanian overlords and levy taxes on their behalf (in the form of livestock) was perhaps not matched by that of other tribes. The escorting of Persian caravans is mentioned in an alternative account about “Ḥājib's bow” (“*qaws Ḥājib*”; above, 54): Ḥājib gave his bow as pledge when the Persian king

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Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Uthayfiya.

<sup>531</sup>For example, Yazīd ibn Masʿūd ibn Khālīd (Nahshal) was a *sayyid* in the *bādiya* who did not carry out a *hijra* to Baṣra; Balādhurī (MS), 985b.

<sup>532</sup>Hinds, “Kūfan political alignments”, 351.

<sup>533</sup>*Iṣāba*, V, 485. Cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qays b. ʿĀṣim, 832b (“Qays settled in al-Baṣra”).

<sup>534</sup>Ibn Saʿd, VII, 37–38.

<sup>535</sup>Note that the ʿAmr ibn Tamīm and the Ḥanzāla engaged in robbery at the time of Ḥajjāj; Jahīz, *Bayān*, I, 397–98.

<sup>536</sup>In the context of the links between the *ḥaḍira* of the Tamīm in Baṣra and its *bādiya* it should be mentioned that al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays went as far as Yabrīn to seek assistance in paying blood money; *Sharḥ nahj*, XV, 136. Yabrīn is at the edge of Saʿd's territory; Lughda, 343.

assigned him the task of escorting a caravan to the market of ʿUkāz. After the completion of the task Ḥājib was “crowned” by the king.<sup>537</sup> The Tamīm were also involved in caravan trade from the other side, i.e., as brigands. Their informants preserved some stories of individuals in connection with the Yawm al-Şafqa (or Yawm al-Mushaqqar,<sup>538</sup> or Yawm Şafqat al-Mushaqqar) on the eve of Islam in which the Tamīm were punished for attacking a caravan dispatched to Khusro by his governor in the Yemen, Bādhān.<sup>539</sup>

Trade interests were presumably behind at least some of Tamīm’s long-range expeditions to the Yemen. For example, after the Battle of al-Kulāb al-Thānī (which took place after 620),<sup>540</sup> al-Aqraʿ ibn Ḥābis (Mujāshiʿ), using horses brought from Najd, attacked the Ḥārith ibn Kaʿb in Najrān.<sup>541</sup> Al-Aḍbaṭ ibn Qurayʿ (with two other commanders) raided the Yemen, reaching as far as Şanʿāʾ.<sup>542</sup> That Ḥīra was behind al-Aḍbaṭ’s expedition is suggested by the fact that he owned a *ḥammām* in Ḥīra<sup>543</sup> and perhaps lived there at least part of the year. The Saʿd, possibly Saʿd Tamīm,<sup>544</sup> attacked the Ghawth in Maʿrib and killed them.<sup>545</sup> The Tamīmīs who fought for Ḥīra and whose leaders were among Ḥīra’s tax collectors were themselves not exempt from the payment of the same taxes.<sup>546</sup> The Tamīm were in the army of al-Mundhir III when it was wiped out by the Ghassānids in northern Syria (June 554).

<sup>537</sup> *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Ḥāḍjib b. Zurāra (M.J. Kister). Khusro crowned both Ḥājib ibn Zurāra and his son, ʿUṭārid; *Naqāʾid*, I, 265. See also above, no. II, 57.

<sup>538</sup> *ET*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Mushaqqar (C.E. Bosworth).

<sup>539</sup> For *kanz al-Naṭif* or “Naṭif’s treasure” see *Thimār qulūb*, 139–40 (al-Naṭif was of the Salīṭ ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Yarbūʿ). The Yarbūʿ attacked the caravan sent by Bādhām (*sic*) al-Uswār from the Yemen to Khusro. Ḥiṭṭān/al-Naṭif’s share in the spoils was an emaciated camel laden with a palm-leaf basket, which turned out to be full of jewels (*jawhar*); Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 226. See also Balādhurī (MS), 1006a (the caravan carried clothes, ambergris, and two saddlebags containing golden belts and precious stones: *wa-kāna Bādhām ʿāmil Kisrā bi-l-Yaman baʿatha ilayhi bi-ʿir ʿazīma taḥmilu l-thiyāb wa-l-ʿanbar wa-kāna fihā khurjāni fihimā manāṭiq dhahab wa-jawhar nafīs*). Cf. Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 83, quoting *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), XVII, 318. The several survivors of the Sassanian punitive action lived in Iṣṭakhr until the Muslim conquest and then converted to Islam. Among the survivors there were three brothers, Qurra, Ḥazn, and Mashjaʿa, sons of al-Naḍr. Mashjaʿa became a woodcutter (*khāṭiban*, read *ḥāṭiban*) while Ḥazn became a translator. The former (who, like his brothers, was no doubt raised as a Zoroastrian) used to cry *subḥān allāh* and *allāh akbar* at the top of his voice; *Iṣāba*, V, 526.

<sup>540</sup> Caskel, II, 9. Cf. a reference to Tamīmī captives in Najrān; *Aghānī*, X, 149, 150.

<sup>541</sup> *Naqāʾid*, I, 46 (Yawm Najrān); 448.

<sup>542</sup> *Ibid.*, 445. The Saʿd took over the protection of Khusro’s caravan on the border of the Ḥanīfa territory and escorted it to the Yemen; Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 49 n. 167=*Aghānī*, XVI, 79. For this they received a reward (*wa-tujʿalu lahum jaʿāla*; cf. on the term Lecker, “Were the Jewish tribes in Arabia clients of Arab tribes?”).

<sup>543</sup> *Muʿammarūn*, 11.

<sup>544</sup> Cf. Kister, “The campaign of Ḥulubān”.

<sup>545</sup> Ashʿarī, *Ansāb*, 67.

<sup>546</sup> The Usayyid pay *itāwa*; Kister, “Ḥīra”, 161; *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, I, 436–38. Cf. *Muʿammarūn*, 103 (on the levying of the *itāwa* of Muḍar).

The institution of *ridāfa* or viceroyship to the king of Ḥīra in which the Tamīm and other tribes participated was essential in establishing Ḥīra's control over the Bedouins. The privileges associated with it (possibly exaggerated by tribal informants), some ceremonial and some material, helped in buying off potentially dangerous tribes. Reportedly the Yarbū' received the *ridāfa* office as a kind of bribes following constant raids on the extremities of the sown land,<sup>547</sup> and the same explanation holds for other tribes as well. On official occasions the *ridf* (pl. *ardāf*, *ruduf*)<sup>548</sup> would sit on the king's right hand side, drink after him and before the others, follow the king in processions, and replace the king when he set out on an expedition; upon the king's return the *ridf* would receive a fourth of the booty.<sup>549</sup> Finally, the *ridf* would levy a certain amount in taxes from the king's subjects.<sup>550</sup> Two groups of the Ḥanzala, the Yarbū' and the Mālik, or rather the Dārim ibn Mālik, competed for the *ridāfa* which at one time belonged to the Riyāḥ.<sup>551</sup> Ḥājib ibn Zurāra of the Dārim who had close links with Ḥīra tried to obtain for the Dārim the *ridāfa* which was then in Yarbū' hands. The king was willing to comply but the Yarbū', supported by the Barājim and no one else of the Tamīm,<sup>552</sup> took to the field and defeated the army of Ḥīra at Ṭikhfa.<sup>553</sup> This took place when al-Mundhir III (ibn Mā' al-Samā', ca. 505–54) ascended the throne.<sup>554</sup> Elsewhere it is reported that Ḥājib ibn Zurāra of the Dārim asked al-Mundhir III to transfer the *ridāfa*, which was then in Yarbū' hands, to al-Ḥārith ibn Bayba al-Mujāshi'.<sup>555</sup>

Tamīm could offer the Sassanians a strong military potential. An idea of the strength of various Tamīmī groups can be gained from the list of *jarrārūn*, i.e., those who commanded over one thousand men, which includes several Tamīmīs. The tribal leaders listed belonged to the Ḥanzala, above all the Dārim, and in one case to the Sa'd. Zurāra ibn 'Udus ('Abdallāh ibn Dārim) led the Tamīm (and others) against the 'Udhra on Yawm Shuwāḥiṭ (or Shuwayḥiṭ). His son, Laqīṭ, led the Tamīm (excluding the Sa'd) on Yawm Jabala. Al-Aqra' ibn Ḥābis (Mujāshi') is said to have led the whole of the Ḥanzala on the First Day of

<sup>547</sup> *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, II, 433 (*ṣāna'ūhum bi-an ja'alū lahumu l-ridāfa*).

<sup>548</sup> For the latter see *Khizāna*, I, 261.

<sup>549</sup> *Khizāna*, I, 262.

<sup>550</sup> Kister, "Ḥīra", 149 = *Naqā'id*, 66 (*itāwa*), 299, 809; Balādhurī (MS), 992b; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, II, 626 (regarding the *ridāfa* of Mālik ibn Nuwayra).

<sup>551</sup> 'Attāb ibn Haramī ibn Riyāḥ al-Riyāḥī nicknamed *al-ridf* was the *ridf* of al-Nu'mān ibn al-Shaqīqa; Balādhurī (MS), 992b; cf. *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. *Shāḥīkat al-Nu'mān* (A. Dietrich). Also *Naqā'id*, index, 161, s.v. 'Attāb ibn Harmī (*sic*, read: Haramī) ibn Riyāḥ ibn Yarbū' (the *ridf* of al-Mundhir ibn Mā' al-Samā'); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 215; *Sharḥ nahj*, XV, 130.

<sup>552</sup> In Balādhurī (MS), 992a.

<sup>553</sup> Ṭikhfa is located 18 miles from Ḍariyya; *Manāsik*, 594.

<sup>554</sup> *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, II, 433, quoting Abū 'Ubayda.

<sup>555</sup> On his candidacy see *Naqā'id*, I, 66. Cf. *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, II, 433 (he asked that it be transferred to al-Ḥārith ibn 'Udus ibn al-Ḥārith). Ḥārith ibn Bayba, the *sayyid* of Mujāshi', is mentioned in Ibn Mākūlā, I, 384. Al-Ḥārith ibn Bayba ibn Qurṭ ibn Sufyān ibn Mujāshi' was one of *ardāf al-mulūk*; Balādhurī (MS), 983a.

al-Kulāb; but in fact it was his father, Sufyān, who fought on the First Day of al-Kulāb.<sup>556</sup> Al-Nu‘mān ibn Mujāshi‘ who lived four generations earlier led the Dārim and their allies on Yawm al-Ṣafrā’. The only battle in which the Sa‘d fought in a large formation took place in the Yemen, against the Ḥimyar (Yawm Ṣan‘ā’), under al-Namir ibn Ḥimmān ibn ‘Abd al-‘Uzzā and al-Aḍbaṭ ibn Quray‘ (cf. above, 69), each of whom was a *jarrār*.<sup>557</sup> Dārim’s vying for the *ridāfa* has already been mentioned. The Dārim leaders visited the kings of Ḥīra, influenced their tribal policy and took part in their raids. Dārim’s role appears to have been prominent indeed. Zurāra ibn ‘Udus also led the Tamīm in a raid against Yamāma together with the king of Ḥīra, ‘Amr ibn Hind.<sup>558</sup> When Laqīṭ ibn Zurāra married the daughter of Qays ibn Mas‘ūd al-Shaybānī, he received from the king of Ḥīra, al-Mundhir ibn al-Mundhir, one hundred camels of the excellent type called ‘*aṣāfir al-malik*.’<sup>559</sup> On Yawm Jabala the Tamīm (with the exception of the Sa‘d) fought under Laqīṭ<sup>560</sup> alongside troops from Ḥīra. Laqīṭ is said to have led the Ḥanzala and the Ribāb, and to have been supported by the *wadā’i*; these were the (mounted) garrison troops stationed in Ḥīra with the kings (*wa-aqbalū ilayhim bi-wadā’i kānat takūnu bi-l-Ḥīra ‘inda l-mulūk wa-humu l-rābiṭa*). Reportedly, Laqīṭ was riding a hackney given to him by Khusro which was armour-clad and covered with brocade; he is supposed to have been the first Bedouin to have ridden an armoured horse. At Jabala the Tamīm were defeated by the ‘Āmir ibn Ṣaṣa’a, Laqīṭ was killed and his brother Ḥājib was taken captive.<sup>561</sup>

Evidence on the military cooperation between the Tamīm and the courts of Ctesiphon and Ḥīra is made up of tribal history. As such it reveals a certain tension between the glorification of the tribe’s military exploits, even those carried out in the service of the despised Sassanian rulers, and the claim of independence from the same rulers. Obviously, the cooperation was not between equal parties, since the Bedouin depended on food supplies from settlements controlled by the Sassanians. Hajar, for example, was the largest date producing oasis in northern Arabia and access to its market was vital for the Bedouins roaming the vicinity.<sup>562</sup>

<sup>556</sup> *Muḥabbar*, 247; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. al-Akra‘ b. Ḥābis (M.J. Kister).

<sup>557</sup> *Muḥabbar*, 247.

<sup>558</sup> *Aghānī*, XIX, 127–28. Zurāra received from Khusro a slave girl; Kister, “Strangers”, 114.

<sup>559</sup> Cf. Ibn Qutayba, *Shi‘r*, II, 710.

<sup>560</sup> *Muḥabbar*, 247.

<sup>561</sup> Jabala can still be found on modern maps in central Najd, northwest of al-Dawādīmī. See also Ibn Khamīs, *Majāz*, 98f. It is noteworthy that in the Battle of Ṣiffin Mu‘āwiya placed the Hawāzin, Ghatafān and Sulaym opposite the Tamīm of Irak; *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, I, 219–20; *Waq‘at Ṣiffin*, 227–28 (in the latter source, read Tamīm instead of al-Taym).

<sup>562</sup> Cf. Sam‘ānī, V, 163–64 (the story of the *mukhaḍram* poet al-A‘shā al-Māzinī whose wife ran away when he went to Hajar to obtain provisions, *kharaja yamīru ahlahu min Hajar*). The Bedouin who came to Yamāma for provisions were called *al-sawāqit*; Abū ‘Ubayda, *al-Dībāj*, 53 (*wa-kāna l-sawāqit min qaba’il shattā wa-summū sawāqit li-annahum kānū ya’tūna l-Yamāma fi l-ashhuri l-ḥurum li-l-tamr wa-l-zar‘*).

The kings of Ḥīra must have practiced widespread incarceration as punishment and as a means of pressure; many an Arab saw their rulers from behind bars. In connection with Aktham ibn Ṣayfī's intercession on behalf of Tamīmī captives jailed by al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir we hear of jails or incarceration camps in al-Quṭṭāna and in Ḥīra itself.<sup>563</sup>

Some of Persia's closest Tamīmī allies, such as 'Adī ibn Zayd al-'Ibādī, were Christians. Reportedly 'Adī belonged to a marginal line of the Tamīm, the Imru' al-Qays ibn Zayd Manāt (*nisba*: al-Mara'ī). The Christian faith of this group is reflected in 'Adī's pedigree: one of his ancestors, Ayyūb (said to have been "the first Arab to carry the name Ayyūb"), came from Yamāma and settled in Ḥīra, where he attached himself to the Ḥārith ibn Ka'b.<sup>564</sup> Ayyūb had a brother called Ibrāhīm. Ibn al-Kalbī remarks that he does not know of other Jāhili Arabs who were called Ayyūb and Ibrāhīm and that they were given these names because they were Christians.<sup>565</sup> 'Adī, who was bilingual, was one of Khusro's secretaries and translators. When he was absent from Khusro's gate, he was replaced by his son Zayd and by his brother. The two were those who plotted against al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir after he had killed 'Adī in prison.<sup>566</sup> 'Adī's role is comparable to that of one of the Banū l-Hujaym (ibn 'Amr ibn Tamīm) nicknamed al-Turjumān, said to have been Khusro's translator. His offspring (some of whom attained prominence) were reportedly considered disgraced for this.<sup>567</sup> Again there is tension between the pride of this man's offspring in their ancestor's linguistic skills, and his association with the rulers.<sup>568</sup>

The settlement of many Tamīmīs in Iran following the Conquests probably increased the number of bilingual persons in their midst. It is no accident that the first to translate administrative records in Khurāsān from Persian to Arabic in the Umayyad period was a Tamīmī called Ishāq ibn Ṭulayq al-Kātib al-Nahshalī who was a close associate of Naṣr ibn Sayyār. (It cannot be ruled out though that he was in fact a Persian *mawla* of the Tamīm.) Interestingly, Khālīd ibn Ṣafwān al-Minqarī, one of al-Saffāh's partners in nocturnal conversations, was the caliph's source of information not only about the Tamīm but also about Persia

<sup>563</sup> *Mu'ammarrūn*, 20–22. 'Adī ibn Zayd was jailed in al-Ṣinnayn; Ṭabarī, I, 1023. Another *mukhadram* poet, Rabī'a ibn Maqrūm al-Ḍabbī (the Ḍabba were Tamīm's "uncles") who fought in Qādisiyya had been jailed "by Khusro" in al-Mushaqqar; *Iṣāba*, II, 513.

<sup>564</sup> *Aghānī*, II, 18.

<sup>565</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 250; Balādhurī (MS), 1053b. Horovitz, "'Adī ibn Zeyd, the poet of Hira", 33, observes that the Christian creed of 'Adī's family goes back at least to the time of Ayyūb.

<sup>566</sup> Balādhurī (MS), 1052b–53a.

<sup>567</sup> They included a son who received an office (*wilāya*) from 'Umar and a grandson who was the governor of Kirmān under Ḥajjāj; Balādhurī (MS), 1068b; Ibn Durayd, *Ishtiqāq*, 209. For al-Turjumān ibn Huraym (Mujāshī') see Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 204.

<sup>568</sup> Obviously, the Persian influence on the Tamīm did not cease upon the advent of Islam. A Tamīmī who was Ḥajjāj's *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra had a son whose nickname was Durust; Balādhurī (MS), 989a. Cf. the Baṣran *ḥadīth* transmitter called Durust, Mizzi, VIII, 480.



and the Persians (*Fāris wa-l-‘ajam*).<sup>569</sup>

Hajar was an important venue of Tamīmī–Persian cooperation. Al-Mundhir ibn Sāwā<sup>570</sup> (‘Abdallāh ibn Zayd ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Dārim), in his capacity as governor of Baḥrayn or of Hajar had authority only over the Arabs. In Baḥrayn, precisely as in Ḥīra, ‘Umān and the Yemen (after the Sassanian conquest of ca. 575), there was also a superior Persian governor.<sup>571</sup> All this came to an end with the advent of Islam which gave the Arabs superiority over all the others. When al-Mundhir became the Prophet’s governor in Baḥrayn or in Hajar,<sup>572</sup> he no longer had a Sassanian official over him.

The Arab client kings of Hajar, Ḥīra and ‘Umān are specifically reported to have had a role in the annual markets that took place in their territory. Al-Mushaqqar (in Baḥrayn) was frequented by Persians who came across the Gulf and Arabs who passed through the territory of the Muḍar. While both the ‘Abd al-Qays and Tamīm lived in the vicinity of al-Mushaqqar, the “kings” of the market were from the Banū ‘Abdallāh ibn Zayd of Tamīm, the tribal group (*raḥṭ*) of al-Mundhir ibn Sāwā. The kings of Persia used to appoint them over the market as they appointed the Banū Naṣr over Ḥīra and the Banū al-Mustakbir over ‘Umān. The practice of the Tamīmī “kings” in al-Mushaqqar, the report goes on, was similar to that of the “kings” in the market of Dūmat al-Jandal; they used to levy the taxes from the merchants. At the markets of Ṣuḥār and Dabā (in ‘Umān) it was al-Julandā ibn al-Mustakbir who levied the taxes.<sup>573</sup>

Reports on Zoroastrianism among the Tamīm are rare.<sup>574</sup> Several Tamīmī Muslims of the first Islamic generation, all but one belonging to the Dārim, are specified as former believers in the religion of the Sassanian upper class. According to an apologetic claim, the Banū Zurāra ibn ‘Udus were Zoroastrians and fire worshippers because they mingled with the Persian kings and attempted to please them.<sup>575</sup> In one account the first Arab to become Zoroastrian was Ḥājib ibn Zurāra; he gave a daughter of his the name of Khusro’s daughter, Dukhtanūs, and married her, which he later regretted.<sup>576</sup> In another account his father, Zurāra, was already Zoroastrian.<sup>577</sup> Laqīṭ was pejoratively called *Ibn*

<sup>569</sup>Balādhurī, III, 160.

<sup>570</sup>Whom some called al-‘Abdī, which suggests an affiliation to the ‘Abd al-Qays. It is Ibn Hishām who calls him a member of the ‘Abd al-Qays; Rothstein, *Laḥmiden*, 132 n. 1. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf*, II, 257, is oblivious of the fact that the Dārim are Tamīmīs.

<sup>571</sup>Rothstein, *Laḥmiden*, 131–32.

<sup>572</sup>*‘Āmil al-nabī ‘alā l-Baḥrayn/‘āmil al-nabī ‘alā Hajar*.

<sup>573</sup>Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 265–66 (the text is not smooth; in addition, the Banū Naṣr of Ḥīra are not associated here with the control of a market); Lecker, “Were customs dues levied at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad?”, 28–30 = no. VII in this volume. Cf. Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 270 (printed Taym instead of Tamīm); Marzūqī, *Amkīna*, II, 161–64.

<sup>574</sup>Cf. Crone, *Meccan Trade*, 47.

<sup>575</sup>*Nashwat al-ṭarab*, I, 449 (... *li-mukhālatatihim mulūka l-furs wa-’ttibā’ marādihim*).

<sup>576</sup>*Zīna*, I, 147–48; Ibn Rusta, 217. Elsewhere she is said to have been married to her father’s cousin, ‘Amr ibn ‘Amr ibn ‘Udus; *Naqā’id*, II, 665, 940.

<sup>577</sup>Ibn Rusta, 217. Regarding Dukhtanūs there must have been some confusion, since elsewhere

*al-ḥamrā'*,<sup>578</sup> probably because he had a Persian mother.<sup>579</sup> Also al-Aqrā' ibn Ḥābis (Mujāshi') and the non-Dārimī Abū Sūd (Ghudāna – Ḥanzāla) had been Zoroastrians before converting to Islam.<sup>580</sup> Abū Sūd was the great-grandfather of Wakī' ibn Ḥassān ibn Qays ibn Abī Sūd who seized the governorship of Khurāsān at the time of Sulaymān ibn 'Abd al-Malik.<sup>581</sup>

Zoroastrianism belonged to one's *mathālīb* or vices. The men listed were evidently famous figures or had famous offspring; the vices of ordinary people were not a matter of scholarly interest. Presumably, Zoroastrianism among the Tamīm was more widespread than is suggested by the above list. Some support for this assumption can be found in a comment made by Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī (5th/11th century) with reference to the Persian name al-Hayjumāna which the eponym of the Banū l-'Anbar (ibn 'Amr ibn Tamīm) gave his daughter: "The Persian language and the religion of the Persians were widespread among the Tamīm and therefore also Laqīṭ gave his daughter the [Persian] name Dukhtanūs".<sup>582</sup>

Some, perhaps many, Tamīmīs stood to benefit from the recognition by the Muslim state of the Zoroastrians as "People of the Book".<sup>583</sup> Bajāla ibn 'Abada al-Tamīmī al-'Anbarī who reported about 'Umar's directions regarding the Zoroastrians<sup>584</sup> was part of the administration at the time of 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb: he was the *kātib* of his fellow Tamīmī, Jaz' ibn Mu'āwiya.<sup>585</sup> The latter, a paternal uncle of al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays, was at that time the governor of Ahwāz (or of part of it).<sup>586</sup>

Zoroastrianism was probably accompanied by a spiritual level higher than that of common tribesmen; it is noteworthy that Ibn al-Kalbī's *Kitāb al-mathālīb* includes, in a list of teachers of noble extraction, 'Amr ibn Zurāra (Ḥājib's brother) who used to teach (i.e., literacy) to the *bādiya* of the Muḍar (i.e., the Tamīm,

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we are told that it was Ḥājib's brother, Laqīṭ, who gave his daughter this name, hence his alleged *kunya* Abū Dukhtanūs; see below. His other *kunya* was Abū Nahshal; see e.g. *Khizāna*, VI, 369.

<sup>578</sup> *Ibid.*, 366.

<sup>579</sup> Cf. al-Ḥamrā' bint Ḍamra (Nahshal), 'Amr ibn Hind's last victim on Yawm Uwāra. 'Amr suspected that she was an *a'jamiyya* but she denied it at the cost of her life; *Aghānī*, XIX, 129–30; *Khizāna*, VI, 526–27.

<sup>580</sup> *Iṣāba*, I, 103 (al-Aqrā'); Ibn Rusta, 217.

<sup>581</sup> *Ibid.*; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 415–16. Cf. Maqdisī, *Bad'*, IV, 31 (*wa-l-Mazdakiyya wa-l-Majūsiyya fī Tamīm*); Monnot, "L'Histoire des religions en Islam", 29.

<sup>582</sup> *Faṣl al-maqāl*, 39. See also *Nashwat al-ṭarab*, I, 418–19; *Īnās*, 210–11; *Lisān al-'arab*, XII, 603a, s.v. In the Jāhiliyya the Sa'd ibn Zayd Manāt ibn Tamīm were called *dawsar*; Azharī, *Tahdhīb al-lughā*, V, 265, s.v. *ḥabā*. The Arabs who had Persian names included al-Zibriqān, Qābūs, Biṣṭām and others.

<sup>583</sup> Cf. Kister, "Social and religious concepts of authority", 88–90.

<sup>584</sup> See e.g. 'Abd al-Razzāq, VI, 49; X, 327, 367.

<sup>585</sup> *Iṣāba*, I, 339.

<sup>586</sup> *Istī'āb*, II, 718; Ibn Abī Shayba, XII, 244–45 (read *wa-kāna 'alā ṭā'ifa min al-Ahwāz*); *Ta'rīkh Wāsiṭ*, 35 (read ... 'an Bajāla: *kuntu kātiban li-Jaz' ibn Mu'āwiya 'alā Manādhīr al-Ṣughrā*).

and perhaps the Qays ‘Aylān too).<sup>587</sup>

Obviously, Persians felt at home in the midst of the Tamīm. When, in the Umayyad period, the injustice of the governor of Fārs forced the Persian father of the famous musician, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī, to flee from home, he settled among the ‘Abdallāh ibn Dārim. There he met Ibrāhīm’s mother whose father was one of the *dihqāns* who similarly fled from Fārs and settled in the midst of the ‘Abdallāh ibn Dārim.<sup>588</sup> Earlier examples of Persians associating themselves with the Tamīm are relevant to the Muslim conquest of Iran. The *asāwira* or heavy cavalry and the Ḥamrā’, who shifted their loyalty to the Muslims during the Conquests, are illuminating cases of transition. Both the Bakr ibn Wā’il and the Tamīm competed for the *asāwira* who settled in Baṣra. Finally the *asāwira* settled with the Sa’d Tamīm. The claim that the *asāwira* inquired about the tribe that was the closest of kin to the Prophet (or to the Prophet and the caliphs) is a pious invention.<sup>589</sup>

As to the Ḥamrā’, although a report in Ṭabarī suggests that they chose to be integrated into the fighting unit of the Tamīm since they were told that the Tamīm were the strongest Arab tribe, one suspects the existence of former ties between the two. It is no accident that the Muslim governor who, shortly after the conquest of Iraq, placed the Ḥamrā’ as a garrison in Ḥulwān (under the command of a Khurāsānī called Qubādh) was a Tamīmī.<sup>590</sup>

Tamīm’s Meccan connection is less obvious than the Sassanian/Ḥīran one. While Tamīm’s links with the Sassanians and Ḥīra are easily accounted for by the geographical situation, this is not the case regarding their links with Mecca, which was remote from Tamīm’s territory. Admittedly, one has to allow for some exaggeration on the part of Tamīm’s genealogists — after all, the pre-Islamic history of Mecca was recorded during the Islamic period, when the name Quraysh stood for power and wealth. Still, Tamīm’s relationship with pre-Islamic Mecca is a solid historical fact.<sup>591</sup>

The term used with regard to the Tamīmīs who settled in Mecca before Islam is *ḥulafā’* (pl. of *ḥalīf*) which in this context can mean either “allies” or “clients”. The latter rendering seems preferable since regardless of their wealth and high social status,<sup>592</sup> these foreigners who were given Qurashī women in marriage

<sup>587</sup>See also *Iṣāba*, III, 312; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 471.

<sup>588</sup>*Aghānī*, V, 2–3. For a somewhat different version see *Nūr al-qabas*, 317. Cf. a *dihqān* in Kūfa (Abbasid period) who claimed Tamīmī descent; *Aghānī*, XIII, 18.

<sup>589</sup>On the defection of the *asāwira* to the Muslims see Morony, *Iraq*, 198.

<sup>590</sup>*Ibid.*, 197.

<sup>591</sup>Khadija’s first or second husband (before she married Muḥammad) had been a Tamīmī of the Usayyid; see Kister, “The sons of Khadija”, 59–66. On this and other Tamīmīs who settled in Mecca in the Jāhiliyya see *idem*, “Strangers”, 113–26. Marriages form a vital aspect of the Quraysh–Tamīm relationship. On the marriages of Asmā’ bint Mukharriba (Nahshal) with Qurashī notables see Kister, “Mecca and Tamīm”, 158; *idem*, “On the wife of the goldsmith”, 326–30. For a reference to Abū Jahl as Ibn al-Ḥanzaliyya see Balādhurī, I, 291.

<sup>592</sup>Abū Ihāb (Zayd ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Dārim) was well-to-do; Kister, “Strangers”, 113, 116.

suffered from a crucial legal handicap: they could not grant a third party security which was binding for the members of the host tribe, namely Quraysh.<sup>593</sup>

## 7.5

As one can expect, most of Tamīm's pre-Islamic fighting took place against their neighbours. In the northern part of their territory the Tamīm clashed with the Asad and in the south and west they fought the Ḥanīfa.<sup>594</sup> The dying Qays ibn ʿĀsim was still worried, half a century after the advent of Islam, that the Bakr ibn Wā'il might ransack his grave.<sup>595</sup>

The evidence about Tamīm's connection with the Prophet is a plethora of confused and contradictory reports because in due course every trivial detail acquired immense importance. The reports were preserved by the offspring of the Tamīmī Companions (or alleged Companions). What is more, the evidence was further obscured by a process of redaction.<sup>596</sup> The manner in which Companions of the Tamīm, no matter how insignificant their role, were "recruited" by tribal genealogists and historians is demonstrated by passages from the now lost *Kitāb al-tāj* by Abū ʿUbayda.<sup>597</sup> One thing seems clear: given the present state of our knowledge regarding Tamīm's links with the Prophet, an analysis of the source material has priority over the formulation of historical conclusions.

Both Baṣra and Kūfa were extensions of Tamīm's Arabian territories and there were large Tamīmī groups in both. In Baṣra the Tamīm and Qays formed one group, the Muḍar.<sup>598</sup> Many Tamīmīs settled in regions of Iran conquered

<sup>593</sup>Cf. Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, II, 121 (a Tamīmī *ḥalīf* complained that he had been unfairly treated because of his legal status: *a-min ajl annī ḥalīf tastakhiffūna bī?*); Kister, "Strangers", 120. His protest was effective, it is true, but there is no doubt that the *ḥalīf*'s legal rights were not equal to those of the full-fledged members of the tribe. Far more important in this context is the case of al-Akhnas ibn Sharīq; Kister, "Strangers", 129; and in more detail Lecker, *The Constitution of Medina*, 116.

<sup>594</sup>*Nashwat al-ṭarab*, I, 417. For example, the Yarbū' fought against the Asad on Yawm Khaww; *Manāqib Mazyadiyya*, I, 164.

<sup>595</sup>*EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Qays b. ʿĀsim (M.J. Kister).

<sup>596</sup>Cf. Landau-Tasseron, "Process of redaction", especially 256–57, 270.

<sup>597</sup>Quoted in *Sharḥ nahj*, XV, 126–33. The historical tradition of the Tamīm emerges, for example, in an account about the much-disputed killing of Mālik ibn Nuwayra by Khālīd ibn al-Walīd. The Tamīm claim (*taddaʿī*) that Khālīd gave Mālik a guarantee of security; *Khizāna*, III, 319 (which renders his killing unlawful).

<sup>598</sup>von Oppenheim, III, 181. The Tamīm there belonged to the Sa'd, the Ḥanzāla and the ʿAmr; *Sharḥ nahj*, XV, 134; Balādhurī, IV,i, 414. (Members of the Sa'd, the Ḥanzāla and the ʿAmr were also among the early settlers in Kūfa.) Ḥassān ibn Sa'd of the Usayyid built *manārat banī Usayyid* in Baṣra (he probably financed its building); Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 271; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 355. According to another version, it was Ḥassān's son Muḥammad who built the *manāra*; Balādhurī, *Jumal*, XIII, 91. A minaret called after a tribal group is mentioned in Azraqī, II, 82 (*manārat banī Sahm*). It was in fact *al-manāratu llatī talī bāb banī Sahm* (Fākihī, II, 186), and the same may be true of the *manārat banī Usayyid*. One assumes that the minarets in question faced the courts of these tribal groups.

by Baṣra and Kūfan troops. Most of the Arab settlers in Khurāsān came from Baṣra, and hence the large number of Tamīmīs in Khurāsān.

Numerous captives of war were brought back from Iran by the Tamīm. They or their descendants were quickly assimilated by their masters, and, if prominence followed, we find reference to them in the sources. A *mawlā* (*mawlā* ‘*atāqa*, or a former slave) who through his talent and piety achieved great fame in the Umayyad period was the Baṣran Qur’ān specialist Abū l-‘Āliya Rufay‘ ibn Mihrān (d. ca. 90/709). A former slave, he became the *mawlā* of a Riyāḥī woman and was reportedly the first who called out to prayer in Mā Warā’ al-Nahr or Transoxania.<sup>599</sup> Islamic scholarship was open to all and there was free competition regardless of one’s legal or social status. Another prosperous *mawlā* was Tawba al-‘Anbarī al-Baṣrī (d. 131/748–49), a *mawlā* of a man from the ‘Anbar who was a traditionist and held high government positions under Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik. Tawba’s father was taken captive in Sijistān. He himself was born and grew up in Yamāma and later moved to Baṣra. The position of this Muslim of Persian origin (who disliked town life and was described as *ṣāḥib badāwa*) was such that both the ‘Anbar and his maternal uncles, the Numayr (Qays), attempted to no avail to convince him to adopt their genealogy (*an yadda‘iya fihim*).<sup>600</sup>

In the early Umayyad period some Tamīmīs could be found in Syria.<sup>601</sup> Their settlement there should perhaps be associated with the emigration to Syria, sometime during the Umayyad period, of the whole *bādiya* of the Mujāshi‘.<sup>602</sup>

Tamīm’s weight among the tribal population of Iraq and the eastern provinces meant that they were involved in every major event of early Islam which took place in these regions. Hundreds of them were killed in the Battle of the Camel<sup>603</sup>

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Suwayd ibn Shu‘ba al-Yarbū‘ī was one of those who received a *khittā* in Kūfa from ‘Umar; *Muntazam*, V, 47. The *khittā* of the ‘Abdallāh ibn Dārim in Kūfa was close to Dayr Hind al-Ṣughrā which was in fact located in Ḥira; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Dayr Hind al-Ṣughrā. For *rub‘ Tamīm wa-Hamdān* see Balādhurī, IV, i, 255. On the quarters see Morony, *Iraq*, 245. All the *khittat* of the Abān ibn Dārim were in Kūfa where they had a mosque shaped as a cross, and not one of them was in Baṣra; Balādhurī (MS), 989b. The Ḥimmān (Sa‘d ibn Zayd Manāt) settled in Kūfa, where they had a mosque of their own; Sam‘ānī, II, 257. Jābir ibn Nūḥ (d. 183/799) was the *imām* in their mosque; Mizzi, IV, 459–63. When Shabath ibn Rib‘ī (Riyāḥ) died, he specifically stated that he did not wish to be buried ‘*inda maqābir Banī Ṭuhayya*; *Waṣāyā*, 140. The Banū Shayṭān, a subdivision of the Ṭuhayya (more precisely, of the Abū Sūd) lived in Kūfa above al-Kunāsa; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 210. The ‘Uqfān (Yarbū‘) settled in Kūfa; *Lubāb*, II, 350. The ‘Anbar had a *khittā* in Kūfa; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 255.

<sup>599</sup> *Nubalā*, IV, 207, 211–12 (he himself claimed that he had been fully manumitted (*sā‘iba*), and hence was not obliged to bequeath part of his property to his former owner and her relatives. Some said that Abū ‘Amr ibn al-‘Alā’ (above, 64) learned from him the *qirā’a* of the Qur’ān; *Nubalā*, IV, 207.

<sup>600</sup> Ibn Sa‘d, VII, 240–41.

<sup>601</sup> Hence the reported reference to *Tamīm al-Shām* by al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays; Balādhurī, IV, i, 416.

<sup>602</sup> For Farazdaq’s reference to this emigration see Balādhurī (MS), 984b.

<sup>603</sup> *Muntazam*, V, 93; Ṭabarī, I, 3224; Ṭabarī, trans., XVI, 164.

in which the Sa'd did not participate.<sup>604</sup> Shortly afterwards the Sa'd fought with 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib at Ṣiffīn, together with many fellow tribesmen from Baṣra and Kūfa. The Tamīmī units on 'Alī's side included the Tamīm of Baṣra (as a whole) under al-Aḥnaf, the Sa'd and al-Ribāb of Baṣra under Jāriya ibn Qudāma (the leader second in rank after al-Aḥnaf),<sup>605</sup> and the 'Amr and Ḥanzala of Baṣra under A'yan ibn Ḍubay'a al-Mujāshi'i. Tamīm al-Kūfa were under one commander, 'Umayr ibn 'Uṭārid. The 'Amr and Ḥanzala of Kūfa were under Shabath ibn Rib'i, and the Sa'd and Ribāb of Kūfa were under al-Ṭufayl Abū Ṣarīma (or ibn Shubruma).<sup>606</sup> Unsurprisingly, there were no Tamīmī units on Mu'āwiya's side<sup>607</sup> although there were Tamīmīs among the Iraqīs who went over to Mu'āwiya.<sup>608</sup> Another report mentions al-Aḥnaf as leading one of the *akhmās* of Baṣra that included the Tamīm, Ḍabba and al-Ribāb, while Ma'qil ibn Qays al-Yarbū'i led one of the *asbā'* of Kūfa, namely the one which included the Tamīm, Ḍabba and al-Ribāb, in addition to Quraysh, Kināna and Asad.<sup>609</sup> The accounts about the banner-carriers in Ṣiffīn include two references to Tamīmī units. The banner of the Ḥanzala was carried by Labīd ibn 'Uṭārid ibn Ḥājib ibn Zurāra, while that of the Sa'd was carried by 'Amr ibn Fadakī al-Minqarī.<sup>610</sup> According to another passage, Ḥanzala's banner was carried by Ḥuṣayn ibn Qa'nab al-Ḥanzalī while the banner of the Mālik ibn Sa'd was carried by Ḥuṣayn ibn Mālik ibn al-Qa'qā' al-Mālikī and the banner of the 'Amr and 'Awf (sons of Ka'b ibn Sa'd) was carried by 'Ayyāsh ibn al-Zibriqān ibn Badr al-Sa'dī.<sup>611</sup> At Ṣiffīn, one of the Nahshal, namely Mālik ibn Ḥarrī, fought with 'Alī as the commander (*ra'īs*) and banner carrier of the Ḥanzala.<sup>612</sup> There were no Tamīmī banners in Mu'āwiya's army and indeed most of his troops at Ṣiffīn were of the Yemen, while most of 'Alī's were of the Nizār ibn Ma'add, i.e., the Rabī'a and Muḍar.<sup>613</sup>

<sup>604</sup> *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 24; 'Askarī, *Awā'il*, I, 208.

<sup>605</sup> *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 25.

<sup>606</sup> *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 205–206 (al-Ṭufayl Abā [*sic*] Ṣarīma); Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 221 (al-Ṭufayl ibn Shubruma).

<sup>607</sup> Cf. Khalīfa, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 222.

<sup>608</sup> A Yarbū'i who joined Mu'āwiya is mentioned in *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 277 (ten of his Tamīmī companions were killed in one day).

<sup>609</sup> *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 117.

<sup>610</sup> Hinds, "Banners", 18–19 (who has al-Murrī instead of al-Minqarī). The *qurrā'* of Baṣra were under the command of Mas'ūd ibn Fadakī al-Tamīmī; *Waq'at Ṣiffīn*, 208.

<sup>611</sup> Hinds, "Banners", 24, who amends 'Amr and 'Awf to 'Amr ibn 'Awf but suggests (30) that 'Amr and 'Awf are the correct reading.

<sup>612</sup> *Khizāna*, I, 313.

<sup>613</sup> The Tamīm supported 'Alī but later "repented"; Jarīr, *Dīwān*, I, 344. 'Alī married a Nahshaliyya, Laylā bint Mas'ūd, who bore him two sons, 'Ubaydallāh and Abū Bakr; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 206–207; Ṭabarī, V, 3471. Laylā was later married to 'Abdallāh ibn Ja'far ibn Abī Ṭālib; Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 465.

## 7.6

A member of the ‘Anbar, Ḥuṣayn ibn Mālīk (Ḥuṣayn ibn Abī l-Ḥurr), was ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb’s governor in Maysān.<sup>614</sup> ‘Alī appointed a Yarbū‘ī, Khulayd ibn Qurra, to Khurāsān. When, after the Battle of the Camel, two Tamīmīs, a Ḥabaṭī (‘Amr ibn Tamīm) and a Burjumī (Ḥaṇṣala) rebelled in Sijistān, ‘Alī’s governor in Baṣra, Ibn ‘Abbās, sent Rib‘ī ibn Ka’s al-Usayyidī (whom some call al-‘Anbarī) to quell the rebellion. Rib‘ī, who was assisted by Ḥuṣayn ibn Abī l-Ḥurr, was ‘Alī’s governor in Sijistān and its region (*ḥayyiz*). The former’s brother, Khulayd ibn Ka’s, was ‘Alī’s governor over the whole of Khurāsān.<sup>615</sup>

Tamīm’s strong support for ‘Alī at Ṣiffīn was not the best prelude to a prosperous relationship with the Umayyads. But no government could control Iraq and the eastern provinces without Tamīm’s participation and support.<sup>616</sup> It is reported that up to a certain point Mu‘āwiya gave annual payments (‘*aṭā*’) only to warriors of Yemenī origin. However, when the Yemenīs became too self-confident, he changed his policy and beside renewing the annual payments to the northern tribes he ordered that the Yemenīs raid the Byzantines by sea while the Tamīm (and the other Northern Arabs) raid them by land.<sup>617</sup>

The many Tamīmīs who held government positions under the Umayyads and Abbasids reflect their tribe’s influence in Iraq (especially in southern Iraq), ‘Umān, Baḥrayn and throughout the east. During the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods few Tamīmīs held offices elsewhere, the exceptions being a *shurṭa* chief in Medina who was a Sa‘dī, Ibn al-Zubayr’s governor in the Yemen, a governor of Damascus,<sup>618</sup> and a governor of Tunis,<sup>619</sup> both under Hārūn al-Rashīd.

In the Umayyad period many Tamīmīs were *shurṭa* chiefs, especially in Baṣra. A major role in these appointments seems to have been played by Tamīm’s association with various Persian groups which became attached to them as *mawālī* and often served in the *shurṭa* force.<sup>620</sup> The beginnings of Tamīm’s prominence in this respect can be traced back to the time of ‘Alī whose three *shurṭa* chiefs were of the Tamīm: Ma‘qil ibn Qays al-Riyāhī (Yarbū‘), Mālīk ibn Ḥabīb (Yarbū‘) and al-Aṣbagh ibn Nubāta (Mujāshi‘) who was in charge of the *shurṭat al-khamīs*.<sup>621</sup> One of the *shurṭa* chiefs under Ziyād ibn Abīhi, and later under his son, ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād, was ‘Abdallāh ibn Ḥiṣn whose force included 4,000 men. He was of the

<sup>614</sup>Mizzī, VI, 534.

<sup>615</sup>*Akhbār ṭiwāl*, 153.

<sup>616</sup>Mu‘āwiya’s governor in Harāt, Rabī‘a ibn ‘Isl, was of the ‘Amr ibn Yarbū‘; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 224.

<sup>617</sup>*Khizāna*, III, 67–68. The Marwānids did not permit the Tamīm and Bakr to receive their annual pensions in Syria; Balādhurī, *Jumal*, VIII, 19 (*lā yafriḍūna li-Bakr wa-lā li-Tamīm bi-l-Shām*).

<sup>618</sup>Shu‘ayb ibn Khāzim ibn Khuzayma; Crone, *Slaves*, 181.

<sup>619</sup>Introduction to Abū l-‘Arab, *Miḥan*, 5 (he was Abū l-‘Arab’s great-grandfather).

<sup>620</sup>Cf. Morony, *Iraq*, 94, 197–98 (on *Ḥamrā’* in Ziyād’s *shurṭa*).

<sup>621</sup>Cf. Lecker, “*Shurṭat al-Khamīs*”, 276–80.

Dibārī (Yarbū‘). ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād also employed in Baṣra two other *shurṭa* chiefs from the Tamīm: the *murābiṭ* ‘Abbād ibn al-Ḥuṣayn al-Ḥabaṭī (above, 63)<sup>622</sup> who later held the same office under Ibn al-Zubayr;<sup>623</sup> and Ḥuṣayn ibn Tamīm (Jushaysh – Ḥaṇẓala). ‘Abbād’s grandson, Miswar ibn ‘Umar (sometimes referred to as Miswar ibn ‘Abbād) was the *shurṭa* chief of Baṣra at the time of Yazīd ibn al-Walīd.<sup>624</sup> Ziyād ibn Abīhi was an admirer of al-Aḥnaf, not so his son ‘Ubaydallāh who gave lesser Tamīmī leaders precedence over him. However, ‘Ubaydallāh later made al-Aḥnaf his adviser (*ṣāḥib sirrihi*).<sup>625</sup> Ziyād ibn Abīhi’s reliance on the power of the Tamīm is perhaps behind his family’s (*āl*) claim that his mother was of the ‘Abshams.<sup>626</sup> ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn ‘Ubayd ibn Ṭāriq al-Munaffirī (‘Abshams)<sup>627</sup> enjoyed a special position since he was the chief of Ḥajjāj’s *shurṭa* in both Kūfa and Baṣra. When ‘Abd al-Raḥmān set out from Kūfa to go to Baṣra, he left behind in Kūfa as his deputy a nephew called Mawdūd.<sup>628</sup> Another chief of Ḥajjāj’s *shurṭa* in Baṣra was Yazīd ibn ‘Umayr al-Usayyidī. Yazīd’s son, ‘Umar, inherited this office upon his father’s death. ‘Umar had a second term in office at the time of Yazīd ibn ‘Abd al-Malik. Another son of Yazīd ibn ‘Umayr, al-Ḥakam, who was a famous orator,<sup>629</sup> held the same office in Baṣra under Marwān II and was replaced by Ibn Rālān (or Ra’lān) al-Māzinī (‘Amr ibn Tamīm). In Kūfa, Shabath ibn Rib‘ī al-Riyāḥī was *shurṭa* chief after al-Mukhtār’s death.<sup>630</sup> The appointment of a grandson of al-Zibriqān ibn Badr called Ghaḍb ibn ‘Ayyāsh (Bahdala) as *shurṭa* chief in Medina at the time of Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik is unusual since Medina was remote from Tamīm’s territory. But it can be accounted for by reference to genealogy: the grandmother of the governor of Medina who appointed him, an Umayyad, was al-Zibriqān’s daughter and Ghaḍb’s paternal aunt. In Khurāsān, Salm ibn Aḥwaz al-Māzinī commanded the *shurṭa* of its last Umayyad governor, Naṣr ibn Sayyār.

Tamīmīs continued to officiate as *shurṭa* chiefs under the early Abbasids. Nu‘aym ibn al-Thawlā’ al-Nahshalī was *shurṭa* chief in Baṣra under Sulaymān ibn ‘Alī and Khāzim ibn Khuzayma al-Nahshalī was “on the *shurṭa* of Banū l-‘Abbās”.<sup>631</sup> Also Khāzim’s sons, ‘Abdallāh and Khuzayma, officiated as *shurṭa*

<sup>622</sup>Erroneously called al-Ḥaṇẓalī in Balādhurī, IV,i, 414.

<sup>623</sup>‘Abbād was also in charge of the *shurṭa* in Sīstān for ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Samura; Crone, *Slaves*, 109.

<sup>624</sup>Cf. Balādhurī (MS), 1062a (*wa-waliya . . . umūra l-Baṣra wa-aḥdāthahā*). Cf. Crone, *Slaves*, 109. One of Madā’inī’s monographs carried the title *Kitāb al-Miswar ibn ‘Umar ibn ‘Abbād al-Ḥabaṭī wa-‘Amr ibn Sahl* (read: Suhayl); Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, IV, 1856.

<sup>625</sup>*Nubalā’*, IV, 95; Ibn Khallikān, II, 503–504.

<sup>626</sup>Balādhurī, IV,i, 193. Balādhurī rejects this claim (*wa-dhālika bāṭil*).

<sup>627</sup>Crone, *Slaves*, 131.

<sup>628</sup>According to Crone, *Slaves*, 133, Mawdūd was Ḥajjāj’s nephew; but the words *ibn ‘ammihī* in Khalifa, *Ta’rikh*, I, 410, go back to ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, not to Ḥajjāj.

<sup>629</sup>Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, I, 314.

<sup>630</sup>Crone, *Slaves*, 118.

<sup>631</sup>Cf. Crone, *Slaves*, 180.



chiefs under the Abbasids. ‘Abdallāh ibn Khāzim was *shurṭa* chief under al-Mahdī and later caliphs, while another son, Khuzayma ibn Khāzim, was on Hārūn al-Rashīd’s *shurṭa*.<sup>632</sup> Numayla ibn Murra al-‘Abshamī (‘Abshams) headed the *shurṭa* of the rebel Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abdallāh in Baṣra, and later he became a member of al-Manṣūr’s inner circle. A descendant of Ḥājib ibn Zurāra, al-Qa‘qā‘ ibn Ḍirār, was *shurṭa* chief in Kūfa under ‘Īsā ibn Mūsā,<sup>633</sup> and Mūsā ibn Ka‘b (Imru’ al-Qays ibn Zayd Manāt) was in charge of the *shurṭa* under al-Saffāḥ and al-Manṣūr.<sup>634</sup> Sawwār ibn al-Ash‘ar al-Māzinī (‘Amr ibn Tamīm) commanded the *shurṭa* of Sijistān.

Under Hishām ibn ‘Abd al-Malik a Tamīmī called Ḍirār ibn al-Hilqām ibn Nu‘aym was the governor of Marw al-Rūdh. Naṣr ibn Sayyār al-Kinānī favoured the Tamīm and gave them positions in the administration, which started the ‘*aṣabiyya* in Khurāsān between the Muḍar on the one hand and the Rabī‘a and Yemen on the other. Many Tamīmīs were however involved in anti-Umayyad activities, most prominently in the ranks of the Khārijites. They could always count on the possibility of fleeing from the government-controlled towns to the desert where many of their fellow tribesmen were still carrying on the bedouin way of life.

<sup>632</sup>Crone, *Slaves*, 180=Khalifa, *Ta’rīkh*, 750; Muḥabbar, 375.

<sup>633</sup>The pedigree given in Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 199, al-Qa‘qā‘ ibn Ḍirār ibn ‘Uṭārid ibn Ḥājib, is abridged: before Ḥājib, “ibn ‘Umayr ibn ‘Uṭārid” should be added (the lacuna was created due to the repetition of the name ‘Uṭārid). ‘Uṭārid ibn ‘Umayr ibn ‘Uṭārid ibn Ḥājib whose *floruit* coincided with that of Ḥajjāj (Balādhurī, *Jumal*, VII, 3033) was al-Qa‘qā‘’s grandfather; Balādhurī, *Jumal*, XII, 28. Cf. Crone, *Slaves*, 123.

<sup>634</sup>Crone, *Slaves*, 186.

## 8 Thaqīf

A tribe of the so-called Northern Arabian federation Qays ʿAylān, more precisely, according to the common genealogy, of the Hawāzin.<sup>635</sup> Supposedly Thaqīf was the nickname of its eponym whose real name was Qasī.<sup>636</sup> Before Islam the Thaqīf controlled the walled town of Ṭāʾif; groups of the Thaqīf, some settled and some nomadic, still live in Ṭāʾif and its vicinity.

The tribe's pedigree is: Qasī/Thaqīf/ʿAmr ibn Munabbih ibn Bakr ibn Hawāzin ibn Maṣṣūr ibn ʿIkrima ibn Khaṣafa ibn Qays ʿAylān. Thaqīf's closest relatives were their "uncles", Saʿd ibn Bakr, and their "cousins", Naṣr ibn Muʿāwiya ibn Bakr, Jusham ibn Muʿāwiya ibn Bakr and Ṣaʿṣaʿa ibn Muʿāwiya ibn Bakr (ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿa's father).

The genealogical system of Thaqīf is rather simple compared to that of most other tribes; beyond their origin there is no dispute about the details. Being settled in one area, there was little splintering of small groups. There was no lack of expertise on Thaqīf's genealogy in the centres of learning.

The basic division of the Thaqīf was between the Aḥlāf or "the allies" and the Mālik. By definition, the former were less prestigious because their groups needed others to defend themselves, whereas the Mālik were homogeneous and included only the descendants of Mālik ibn Ḥuṭayṭ ibn Jusham. The Aḥlāf included the ʿAwf ibn Thaqīf branch as a whole, i.e., the descendants of both Ghiyara ibn ʿAwf and Saʿd ibn ʿAwf. Hence the Aḥlāf are sometimes called ʿAwf. In addition, they included a lesser component from the other branch of Thaqīf, namely the Jusham ibn Thaqīf: al-Asʿad ibn Ghāḍira ibn Ḥuṭayṭ ibn Jusham. The Asʿad were the "nephews" of the Mālik ibn Ḥuṭayṭ;<sup>637</sup> they were obviously weaker than their "uncles". The caliph Yazīd ibn Muʿāwiya is supposed to have questioned a Thaqāfi visitor about the making of the Aḥlāf alliance.<sup>638</sup> One assumes that both parties of Thaqīf included roughly the same number of warriors because otherwise stability in Ṭāʾif would have been hard to maintain. The break between al-Asʿad and the Mālik was accompanied by a shift of the former to the territory of the ʿAwf. When the Thaqīf delegation came to Muḥammad, the Aḥlāfiyyūn stayed with al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba who was one of themselves and had already joined the Prophet, while the Mālikiyyūn stayed at the Prophet's tent (*qubba*).<sup>639</sup> Thaqīf's

<sup>635</sup>Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 385–92; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 266–69; Abū ʿUbayd, *Nasab*, 266–67; Yāqūt, *Muqtaḍab*, 163–64; Balādhurī (MS), 1198b–1227b; Ṭayyib, *Mawsūʿat al-qabāʾil*, II, ii, 580–652; von Oppenheim, II, 392–93; Caskel, II, 16–17, 553; Lammens, "La cité arabe de Ṭāif"; Hawting, "The development of the biography of al-Ḥārith ibn Kalada"; Sālimī, *Qabīlat Thaqīf*. On Thaqāfis in the Jazīra see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Bughya* (facs.), I, 483.

<sup>636</sup>See the etymology in *Lisān al-ʿarab*, XV, 182a, s.v. *q.s.y.* For other possibilities see *Manāl al-ṭālib*, 485.

<sup>637</sup>Balādhurī, IV, i, 295.

<sup>638</sup>Balādhurī, IV, i, 295. The text is not in order; cf. *TMD*, XLVI, 247.

<sup>639</sup>Ibn Saʿd, V, 510.

internal division is also reflected in the story of the Prophet's Companion 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd who was murdered upon announcing his conversion to Islam. The Mālik argued the murderer was one of them, while the Aḥlāf claimed that it was one of them. Several battles took place between the two Thaqīf divisions in Ṭā'if and its surroundings some generations before Islam. The Naṣr ibn Mu'āwiya were involved in these hostilities.<sup>640</sup> But generally the internal alliances neutralized each other, thereby safeguarding the peace in Ṭā'if. At the Battle of Ḥunayn shortly after Muḥammad's conquest of Mecca the Aḥlāf and the Mālik fought under separate banners; the banner of the former was carried by Qārib ibn al-Aswad. Upon his advice they tied the banner to a tree, and hence the Mālik were misled to believe that the Aḥlāf were still fighting and many from among the Mālik were killed.<sup>641</sup> However, another report has it that Qārib who was in command of the Aḥlāf at Ḥunayn had retreated with them even before the battle began.<sup>642</sup> The Mālik were led at Ḥunayn by *Dhū l-Khimār* Subay' ibn al-Ḥārith.<sup>643</sup> The first of those who fled from the battlefield was Abū Sufyān ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Āmir ibn Mu'attib;<sup>644</sup> this is a rather unusual case of *awā'il*.

Among the Ghiyara (Aḥlāf), the sons of 'Amr ibn 'Umayr are discernible as a group on its own: we hear of usury owed them by the Qurashī Banū al-Mughīra (Makhzūm).<sup>645</sup> On the eve of Islam the 'Amr must have held a leading position among the Thaqīf: the head of the Thaqīf delegation to the Prophet was one of them, 'Abd Yālīl ibn 'Amr ibn 'Umayr (ibn 'Awf ibn 'Uqda ibn Ghiyara).<sup>646</sup> 'Abd Yālīl's son, Kināna, is supposed to have been the leader (*ra'īs*) of Thaqīf in his time. According to some, he embraced Islam together with the Thaqīf delegation.<sup>647</sup> But according to another version going back to Madā'inī, Kināna was the only member of the Thaqīf delegation who did not embrace Islam.<sup>648</sup> Madā'inī also reports that Kināna went to Najrān, then he went to Byzantium where he died a pagan. Ibn Ḥajar who adduces Madā'inī's account in his Companion dictionary adds a piece of corroborative evidence: when the Medinan leader Abū 'Āmir al-Rāhib died in Byzantium in 10 A.H., Kināna was one of the two Arabs who tried to get hold of his bequest. Kināna finally received it because like Abū 'Āmir he was a sedentary (*min ahli l-madar*) whereas the other

<sup>640</sup>Ibn Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 685–87.

<sup>641</sup>*Iṣāba*, V, 403.

<sup>642</sup>Balādhurī (MS), 1199a.

<sup>643</sup>Wāqidī, III, 885; Ṭabarī, I, 1655, 1664; Ṭabarī, trans., IX, 3–4, 14. Only two of the Aḥlāf, both from the Ghiyara, were killed in that battle; Wāqidī, III, 907.

<sup>644</sup>Balādhurī (MS), 1202a (*awwal man dakhala l-Ṭā'if munhaziman*).

<sup>645</sup>*Iṣāba*, VI, 551–52 (regarding Qur'an 2,278).

<sup>646</sup>Ibn Sa'd, V, 506.

<sup>647</sup>*Ibid.*, 507.

<sup>648</sup>He said: *lā yarithunī rajul min Quraysh* or "I shall not be inherited by a man of Quraysh". However, the correct reading is probably *lā yarubbunī rajul min Quraysh* or "no man of Quraysh will have authority over me".

claimant was a nomad.<sup>649</sup>

The Prophet's first governor in Ṭā'if was 'Uthmān ibn Abī l-ʿĀṣ of the Mālik, which could indicate that he favoured this group. 'Uthmān was the youngest member of the Thaḳīf delegation and it is evident that the Prophet had turned his back on the established leadership of the Thaḳīf.<sup>650</sup>

The high standard of living enjoyed by the Thaḳīf was accompanied by a level of literacy which was not lower than that of Mecca. Consequently, many literate Thaḳafīs were recruited by the emerging Muslim administration. The self-evident link between literacy (including arithmetic skills) and administration can be demonstrated by details from the biographies of the well-known Thaḳafīs Ziyād ibn Abīhi and Ḥajjāj. The former was educated in the *kuttāb* of Jubayr ibn Ḥayya ibn Mas'ūd ibn Mu'attib (a cousin of al-Mughīra ibn Shu'ba's father and a nephew of 'Urwa ibn Mas'ūd). Jubayr became a *dīwān* secretary in Iraq, and then his ex-pupil, Ziyād, made him governor of Iṣfahān.<sup>651</sup> As to Ḥajjāj, he was a former teacher, a shortcoming which did not escape his many enemies.<sup>652</sup>

The Thaḳīf were settled before Islam. They controlled Ṭā'if which attracted pilgrims to the sanctuary of Allāt<sup>653</sup> and was a station for pilgrims from the Yemen heading to Mecca. The economic relationship between the Thaḳīf and Quraysh was a matter of major importance in Islamic history. Already before Islam Thaḳīf and Quraysh, while cooperating and sometimes competing over agricultural land in the fertile area surrounding Ṭā'if, were also trading partners and engaged in joint caravan trade.

Ṭā'if supplied (and still supplies) most of Mecca's demand in fruit,<sup>654</sup> hence it was called "the orchard (*bustān*) of the *ḥaram*".<sup>655</sup> Side by side with the local agriculturalists who cultivated small tracts of land, rich Qurashīs developed, already before Islam, large estates in the valleys of Ṭā'if. Their water supply was possibly based on underground irrigation canals. Many a Bedouin of the Qays 'Aylān and others probably made a living by carrying Ṭā'ifi products to Mecca, where they were sold to local inhabitants and pilgrims. At Nakhla a caravan carrying wine, tanned skins and raisins<sup>656</sup> from Ṭā'if to Mecca was attacked by the Prophet's Companions.

<sup>649</sup>*Iṣāba*, V, 669–70. For a similar usage of the verb *rabba* see Wāqidī, III, 910 (*la-an yarubbanī rabb min Quraysh . . .*).

<sup>650</sup>But perhaps 'Uthmān was only in charge of the Mālik, because according to Thaḳīf's letter the Mālik were supposed to have an *amīr* from among them, and the same applied to the Aḥlāf; Ibn Zanjawayh, *Amwāl*, II, 454; *Majmū'at al-wathā'iq*, 285.

<sup>651</sup>Mizzī, IV, 502; Balādhurī, IVa, 169.

<sup>652</sup>Ibn Rusta, 216. Al-Mughīra ibn Shu'ba is said to have established the *dīwān* of Baṣra; *Iṣāba*, VI, 198.

<sup>653</sup>See above in this volume, no. III, 10–14.

<sup>654</sup>Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ*, 379a; Muqaddasī, 79.

<sup>655</sup>Fākihī, III, 206.

<sup>656</sup>Wāqidī, I, 16.

Among the Qurashī properties in the vicinity of Ṭāʾif the best known and perhaps the largest is al-Waḥṭ which is located in the Wajj valley. ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ's father already owned this estate before Islam and ʿAmr himself further developed it by raising the shoots of many thousands of grape-vines on pieces of wood made to support them, each piece of wood costing him one dirham.<sup>657</sup> Al-Waḥṭ remained a source of huge revenues for ʿAmr's offspring. At the time of Muʿāwiya the governor of Ṭāʾif who was the caliph's brother ʿAnbasa ibn Abī Sufyān tried to seize this estate from ʿAmr's son, ʿAbdallāh.<sup>658</sup> Many other Qurashīs owned estates near Ṭāʾif. Abū Sufyān had an estate there.<sup>659</sup> ʿUtba and Shayba, sons of Rabīʿa ibn ʿAbd Shams, had an orchard in Ṭāʾif. Also ʿAbbās and al-Walīd ibn al-Walīd ibn al-Mughīra (Khālīd ibn al-Walīd's brother) had estates there. The latter sold the estate before his Hijra.<sup>660</sup>

Trade partnerships were part of the economic cooperation between Thaqīf and Quraysh. Before his conversion al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba was in Egypt with merchants of Quraysh and Thaqīf (whom he later murdered).<sup>661</sup> Abū Sufyān and the Thaqafī Ghaylān ibn Salama conducted trade in Persia with a group of Quraysh and Thaqīf.<sup>662</sup> This must have occurred not long before the advent of Islam, since both Ghaylān and Abū Sufyān became Companions of the Prophet. The former died at the end of ʿUmar's caliphate,<sup>663</sup> the latter in the early thirties of the first century A.H.<sup>664</sup> ʿAmr ibn Masʿūd ibn Muʿattib (ʿUrwa ibn Masʿūd's brother) was Abū Sufyān's friend and the latter used to stay with him whenever he came to Ṭāʾif.<sup>665</sup> Umayya ibn Abī l-Ṣalt, whose mother was from the Umayyad family,<sup>666</sup> is said to have been with Abū Sufyān in Gaza or Jerusalem;<sup>667</sup> the sole possible background for such a journey was trade. We cannot be sure that such a journey took place, but for those who created the account or recorded it for posterity it was a perfectly reasonable matter.

The relations between the Umayyad family and Thaqīf were particularly close. For example, al-Mughīra ibn Shuʿba (Aḥlāf) was married (at different times) to

<sup>657</sup>Fākihī, III, 205 (read ʿarrasha instead of gharasa); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Waḥṭ; *Nubalāʾ*, III, 74.

<sup>658</sup>Lecker, "The estates of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ", 25–26 = no. IX in this volume.

<sup>659</sup>Wāqidī, III, 971 (Dhū l-Harm). But Dhū l-Harm is said to have been a water-place in Ṭāʾif belonging to ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib (variants: Dhū l-Harim, Dhū l-Haram); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Harm; Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, I, 248–50.

<sup>660</sup>*Iṣāba*, VI, 621.

<sup>661</sup>Balādhurī (MS), 1199a.

<sup>662</sup>Askarī, *Awāʾil*, II, 228 (*kharaja Abū Sufyān ibn Ḥarb wa-rakb min Quraysh wa-Thaqīf yurīdūna bilād Kisrā bi-tijāra lahum ...*). The journey was supposed to have been a novelty and hence a dangerous undertaking.

<sup>663</sup>*Iṣāba*, V, 336.

<sup>664</sup>Mizzī, XIII, 121–22.

<sup>665</sup>*Iṣāba*, IV, 683–84. However, elsewhere it is reported that Abū Sufyān's friend was ʿAmr ibn Masʿūd al-Sulamī of the Dhakwān; *TMD*, *Mukhtaṣar*, XIX, 296.

<sup>666</sup>Seidensticker, "The authenticity of the poems ascribed to Umayya Ibn Abī al-Ṣalt", 88.

<sup>667</sup>*TMD*, *Mukhtaṣar*, XI, 51.

three daughters of Abū Sufyān and a daughter of Saʿd ibn Abī Waqqāṣ.<sup>668</sup> Abū Uḥayḥa Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ owned an estate in al-Zurayba in wadi Liyya and died there.<sup>669</sup> The mother of one of his sons, Khālīd ibn Saʿīd ibn al-ʿĀṣ, was of the Thaḳīf.<sup>670</sup> The mother of ʿUrwa ibn Masʿūd al-Thaqafī was Subayʿa bint ʿAbd Shams ibn ʿAbd Manāf.<sup>671</sup> ʿUrwa himself was married to a daughter of Abū Sufyān who bore him a child called Dāwūd.<sup>672</sup> After ʿUrwa's murder his son Abū Mulayḥ and his nephew Qārib ibn al-Aswad ibn Masʿūd came to Medina and the Prophet told them that they should become the clients of their “maternal uncle” Abū Sufyān.<sup>673</sup> A son of ʿUrwa ibn Masʿūd called Abū Murra was married to a daughter of Abū Sufyān.<sup>674</sup> ʿUthmān ibn Abī l-ʿĀṣ whom the Prophet appointed as the governor of Ṭāʾif was the son of a woman from the Umayyad family and at some time he was married to a woman of the same family.<sup>675</sup> ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Thaqafī (Ibn Umm al-Ḥakam), whom Muʿāwiya appointed governor of Kūfa, was the son of Muʿāwiya's sister. Ḥajjāj was married (at different times) to no less than five women from different branches of Quraysh.<sup>676</sup> Abū l-ʿĀṣ ibn Umayya, the grandfather of the caliph Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, had four daughters who married prominent Thaqafīs.<sup>677</sup> The Prophet expelled al-Ḥakam ibn Abī ʿl-

<sup>668</sup>Balādhurī (MS), 1200a.

<sup>669</sup>Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v.; *Muʿjam mā staʿjam*, s.v., III, 903 (according to some, it was a place in Syria); Balādhurī, IV,i, 428, 432. Saʿīd's grave was near his estate, in wadi Liyya; Wāqidī, III, 925.

<sup>670</sup>Balādhurī, IV,i, 428.

<sup>671</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 267 (where ʿUrwa's name was omitted due to a lacuna); Ibn Saʿd, V, 503.

<sup>672</sup>Wāqidī, III, 929.

<sup>673</sup>Ibn Saʿd, V, 504 (*fa-ḥālifāhu*). For the vocalization of the name Abū Mulayḥ see *Iṣāba*, VII, 383. ʿUrwa's father, Masʿūd ibn Muʿattib, allegedly diverted Abraha's attack from Allāt to the Kaʿba; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Righāl; ʿAskarī, *Awāʾil*, I, 31; Kister, “Some reports concerning Mecca”, 67 (Muʿattib ibn Mālik), 71 (Masʿūd ibn Muʿattib). Cf. *idem*, “The campaign of Ḥulubān”, 431 (ʿItbān ibn Mālik — Muʿattib ibn Mālik's brother — was Abraha's hostage).

<sup>674</sup>Balādhurī, IV,i, 136. Incidentally, ʿUrwa's granddaughter, al-Fāriʿa bint Hammām ibn ʿUrwa, was Ḥajjāj's mother; *Iṣāba*, VI, 555. In other words, apart from ʿUrwa's own leading role among the Thaḳīf, his biography was not a trivial matter in the Umayyad period.

<sup>675</sup>His mother was Ṣafīyya bint Umayya ibn ʿAbd Shams and his wife was Rayḥāna bint Abī l-ʿĀṣ ibn Umayya; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 266.

<sup>676</sup>One was an Umayyad, Umm al-Julās bint Saʿīd ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAttāb ibn Asīd; one from the ʿAdī ibn Kaʿb, bint Abī Bakr ibn ʿUbaydallāh ibn ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; one from the Makhzūm, Umm al-Banīna bint al-Mughīra ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥarith ibn Hishām; one from the ʿĀmir ibn Luʾayy, Umm Salama bint ʿAbd al-Raḥmān ibn ʿAmr ibn Suhayl; and one from the Banū Ḥāshim. The last-mentioned marriage, to a granddaughter of ʿAlī's brother Jaʿfar, Umm Kulthūm bint ʿAbdallāh ibn Jaʿfar ibn Abī Ṭālib, aroused Umayyad opposition and the caliph ʿAbd al-Malik forced him to divorce her; Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III, 210–212.

<sup>677</sup>Rayḥāna married Bishr ibn ʿAbd Duhmān (the grandfather of ʿUthmān ibn Abī l-ʿĀṣ); Khālida married al-Akhnas ibn Sharīq; Lubāba married Ghaylān ibn Salama; and Umm Ḥabīb married the poet Umayya ibn Abī l-Ṣalt; Balādhurī, IV,i, 479 (instead of ʿAbd ibn Duhmān read: ʿAbd Duhmān). But according to *Aghānī*, XII, 45, Ghaylān ibn Salama was married to Khālida bint Abī l-ʿĀṣ who bore him ʿĀmir and ʿAmmār.

‘Āṣ and his non-Muslim children to wadi Wajj;<sup>678</sup> Wajj is the valley in which Ṭāʾif is situated.<sup>679</sup> Obviously, when the Marwānids came to power, their Thaqafī in-laws were their natural partners.

The Thaqīf were among the staunchest of the Arabian tribes in their opposition to Muḥammad. They could rely on their economic and military potential, as well as their alliances with their nomadic neighbours who roamed around Ṭāʾif. At the Battle of Ḥunayn the Thaqīf joined forces with several other Hawāzin tribes; the number of Ṭāʾifis killed there by the Prophet was double the number of Qurashīs he killed at Badr.<sup>680</sup> Although the people of the lower land, i.e., Quraysh and their Kinānī allies, were now led by the Prophet, there is remarkable continuity from the pre-Islamic Fijār wars which were waged in the same vicinity. Most particularly, on Yawm Sharīb near ‘Ukāz, Quraysh and the rest of the Kināna, who had the upper hand, faced the Hawāzin and the whole of Qays. The Naṣr and Thaqīf stood the heat longer than the others because ‘Ukāz was the land (*balad*) of the Naṣr and they had palm-trees and other orchards (*amwāl*) there.<sup>681</sup>

The Prophet’s later unsuccessful siege of Ṭāʾif was staged with the support of Quraysh who were prepared to act against their former allies, the Thaqīf. Most Qurashīs, we are told, had estates in Ṭāʾif which they used to tend. When Mecca was conquered and its people embraced Islam, the Thaqīf coveted these estates. But when Ṭāʾif was conquered (*sic*), the estates remained in the hands of the Meccans and the region (*ard*) of Ṭāʾif became one of the districts (*makhālīf*) of Mecca.<sup>682</sup> In other words, not only were the estates secured but, following the Prophet’s success, Mecca’s supremacy over Ṭāʾif was firmly established. It was never in doubt again.<sup>683</sup>

After the failure of the siege, the Prophet resorted to guerrilla warfare through a local agent. Already in the Battle of Ḥunayn one of the Naṣr ibn Mu‘āwiya (more precisely, the Duhmān ibn Naṣr), Muḍarris ibn Sufyān, is said to have fought on the Prophet’s side.<sup>684</sup> This may indicate that part of Naṣr was then

<sup>678</sup>Balādhurī, IV,i, 479. Cf. *ibid.*, 362 (for a reference to the existence in Ṭāʾif of *ḥubaylāt wa-ghunaymāt*, or small grape-vines and little sheep, owned by the ancestors of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik).

<sup>679</sup>Cf. ‘Askarī, *Awā’il*, I, 268 (where it is stated more generally that al-Ḥakam was expelled to Ṭāʾif).

<sup>680</sup>*Iṣāba*, V, 327.

<sup>681</sup>*Khizāna*, VI, 15–16. On these wars see Landau-Tasseron, “The Sinful Wars”.

<sup>682</sup>Kister, “Some reports concerning al-Ṭāʾif”, 10, quoting Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 56 (*wa-kānat li-‘āmmat Quraysh amwāl bi-l-Ṭāʾif yaʾtūnahā min Makka fa-yuṣliḥūnahā, fa-lammā futiḥat Makka wa-aslama ahlūhā ṭami‘at Thaqīf fihā ḥattā idhā futiḥati l-Ṭāʾif uqirrat fī aydī l-Makkiyyīna wa-ṣarat arḍu l-Ṭāʾif mikhlāfan min makhālīf Makka*). Kister renders the problematic expression *futiḥati l-Ṭāʾif*: “conquered (for Islam)”. Cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Ṭāʾif, 11b–12a (*fa-ʾftatahahā . . . ṣulḥan wa-kataba lahum kitāban*).

<sup>683</sup>For the villages nowadays inhabited by Quraysh in the vicinity of Ṭāʾif (including the villages of al-Waḥt and al-Wuhayt) see Hilālī, “Qurā al-Ṭāʾif”, 420–23.

<sup>684</sup>*Iṣāba*, VI, 125; Ibn Sa‘d, V, 516; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Jamhara*, 381.

already on the Muslim side. After the Battle of Ḥunayn the strong man among Ṭāʾif's nomadic allies, Mālīk ibn ʿAwf al-Naṣrī (of the Duhmān ibn Naṣr)<sup>685</sup> took shelter in Ṭāʾif while his family and camels (*amwāl*) were held by the Muslims. Having received assurances from the Prophet that his family and property would be returned to him, Mālīk switched sides. Like several other tribal leaders he also received one hundred camels. (According to some, the one hundred camels were part of the assurances he received from the Prophet.<sup>686</sup>) Leading the Muslims of his own tribe, the Naṣr, and of several other tribes in the vicinity, Mālīk imposed an effective blockade. No cattle or camels belonging to the people of Ṭāʾif could be sent to pasture without being plundered by Mālīk who also killed every Thaqāfi he captured. A year later Muḥammad concluded an agreement with the Thaqāfi delegation. Although the delegation arrived under the pressure of the blockade, it managed to secure some significant concessions for the tribe.<sup>687</sup>

The Thaqāfi were soon to occupy a position in the Islamic state befitting their cultural level, their prestige among the tribes and their close association with Quraysh. Their share of power and wealth was much larger than that of many stronger and more numerous tribes. The Conquests opened up for them new economic horizons, especially in Iraq, and they benefited from the liberal policy of the rulers with regard to the economic activities of the governors.

The success of the Thaqāfi made them a target for the political and intertribal polemics which in the Islamic era often replaced tribal warfare. The reputation of individual Thaqāfis and of the tribe as a whole came under attack from Shīʿites and others. Claims concerning the origin of the tribe's eponym were particularly effective since they disparaged the whole tribe. Most hostile was the accusation that the Thaqāfi were the descendants of Thamūd, because it insinuated that they were of non-Arab origin.<sup>688</sup> Alternatively, the Thaqāfi were said to have descended from Iyād, which may well represent the historical phase that preceded their association with the Hawāzin (Qays ʿAylān).<sup>689</sup> Even after Thaqāfi's adoption of the Hawāzin genealogy some Thaqāfis clung to their Iyādī one.<sup>690</sup> "Had it not

<sup>685</sup>Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 55.

<sup>686</sup>Wāqidi, III, 954.

<sup>687</sup>Kister, "Some reports concerning al-Ṭāʾif", 1–11; Lecker, "Were customs dues levied at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad?", 35–37 = no. VII in this volume.

<sup>688</sup>*Aghānī*, IV, 75–76 (ʿAlī declares his intention to impose the *jizya* on Thaqāfi); *ibid.*, 76 (the non-Arab tribes were the Ḥimyar who descended from Tubbaʿ, the Jurhum who descended from ʿĀd and the Thaqāfi who descended from Thamūd). Ibn al-Kalbī, probably along the same lines, compiled a *Kitāb tasmīyat man naqala min ʿĀd wa-Thamūd wa-l-ʿAmālīq wa-Jurhum wa-Banī Isrāʾīl min al-ʿArab*; Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, VI, 2780. It was probably part of his book *Kitāb al-nawāqil*, on which see Kister, "Notes on Caskel's *Ġamharat an-nasab*", 55 and 58, n. 58. On Thaqāfi's genealogy see *ibid.*, 60–61.

<sup>689</sup>The Thaqāfi are supposed to have mentioned Iyād in their *talbiya*, but a variant version has "Thaqāfi" instead of "Iyād"; Kister, "Labbayka", 55 (*hādhihi Iyād qad atawka ... /inna Thaqāfan qad atawka ...*). See also Quṭrub, *Azmina*, 117 (*hādhi Thaqāfi qad atawkā ...*).

<sup>690</sup>*Muʿjam mā staʿjam*, I, 76–77, 79 (*wa-thabatāt ṭāʾifa minhum ʿalā nasabihim ilā Iyād*).



been for the Banū Marwān, Ibn Yūsuf (i.e., Ḥajjāj) would have remained as he was, one of the slaves of Iyād”, said a Tamīmī poet.<sup>691</sup> Umayya ibn Aī l-Ṣalt reportedly boasted of his Iyādī origin.<sup>692</sup> But his son Rabīʿa, “answering” his father, stated his tribe’s Qaysī affiliation.<sup>693</sup>

The presumed shift in Thaqīf’s genealogy from Iyād to Qays reflects their relationship with the ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿa of the Hawāzin. First, Ṭāʾif was inhabited by the ʿAdwān (another Qays ʿAylān tribe).<sup>694</sup> Then the ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿa increased in number and drove the ʿAdwān out. The Thaqīf who lived around Ṭāʾif made the nomadic ʿĀmir this offer: they would cultivate the land and give the ʿĀmir one half of the annual produce. The ʿĀmir agreed, and in return defended Ṭāʾif from other Bedouins. These conditions prevailed until the building of the wall around the town.<sup>695</sup> As long as it was in force, the arrangement between the settled population and the nomads allowed the latter to stay in the summer in the vicinity of Ṭāʾif and spend the winter on their pasturing grounds in Najd, assured that those who were better equipped to till the land continued to cultivate it. Thus the ʿĀmir had both “the fields and the udders” (*al-zarʿ wa-l-ḍarʿ*). This typical relationship which was common throughout Arabia was also reflected genealogically in Thaqīf’s adoption of a Hawāzin genealogy.

During the “golden age” of Arabic philology in the 2nd/8th century detailed attention was given to the Thaqīf. The close Quraysh–Thaqīf partnership in power brought about a large literary output in the form of monographs on the faults of the latter tribe. These were no doubt based on oral materials circulating among the enemies of the Umayyad regime and included a mixture of fact and fantasy. The town of Ṭāʾif received attention beyond its real weight in the Islamic state. Ibn al-Kalbī compiled a monograph entitled *Kitāb al-Ṭāʾif*.<sup>696</sup> Madāʾinī compiled a work entitled *Akhbār Thaqīf* or *Accounts about the Thaqīf*.<sup>697</sup> He also compiled *Man tazawwaja fī Thaqīf min Quraysh* or *The Qurashīs who married into the Thaqīf*.<sup>698</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī compiled *Mathālib Thaqīf* or *The vices of the*

<sup>691</sup> *Khizāna*, VII 55.

<sup>692</sup> *Bulūgh al-arab*, III, 369.

<sup>693</sup> *Iṣāba*, II, 461.

<sup>694</sup> The eponyms of the two Thaqīf branches, ʿAwf and Jusham, were, according to some, the offspring of two daughters of ʿĀmir ibn Ṣaʿṣaʿa whose father sheltered the tribe’s eponym Qasī/Thaqīf.

<sup>695</sup> Ibn Athīr, *Kāmil*, I, 684–85. See the wording of Thaqīf’s offer to the ʿĀmir in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Ṭāʾif, 11a (*innakumu khtartumu l-ʿumud ʿalā l-mudun wa-l-wabar ʿalā l-shajar . . .*). For another version of the offer see Muʿjam mā staʿjam, I, 77–78 (*inna hādhihi bilād ghars wa-zarʿ wa-qad raʾaynākumu khtartumu l-marāʿiya ʿalaynā . . .*). For comparative evidence relating to Suwāriqiyya see Lecker, “Were the Jewish tribes in Arabia clients of Arab tribes?”.

<sup>696</sup> Najāshī, *Rijāl*, II, 401.

<sup>697</sup> Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, IV, 1857 (quoted in *Iṣāba*, VI, 555–56; possibly quoted in Balādhurī, IV,i, 295–96).

<sup>698</sup> Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, IV, 1856.

*Thaqīf*.<sup>699</sup> Some monographs dealt with specific Thaqafīs such as al-Zubayr ibn Bakkār's monograph on Umayya ibn Abī l-Ṣalt entitled *Akhbār Umayya ibn Abī l-Ṣalt*.<sup>700</sup> Some dealt with the famous governors Ziyād ibn Abīhi and Ḥajjāj. Ibn al-Kalbī compiled a *Kitāb iddi'ā' Mu'āwiya Ziyādan* or *Mu'āwiya's claim that Ziyād was his brother* and *Akhbār Ziyād ibn Abīhi*.<sup>701</sup> As to Ḥajjāj, Abū 'Ubayda (Ma'mar ibn al-Muthannā) compiled *Akhbār al-Ḥajjāj*<sup>702</sup> and Madā'inī compiled a *Kitāb akhbār al-Ḥajjāj wa-wafātihi*.<sup>703</sup>

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<sup>699</sup>Najāshī, *Rijāl*, II, 400.

<sup>700</sup>Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, III, 1326.

<sup>701</sup>*Ibid.*, VI, 2780. Madā'inī and Haytham ibn 'Adī each compiled a monograph carrying the same title. The former also compiled *Manākiḥ Ziyād wa-wulduhu wa-di'watuhu*; *ibid.*, IV, 1855.

<sup>702</sup>*Ibid.*, VI, 2709.

<sup>703</sup>*Ibid.*, IV, 1856. See also Ḥajjāj's long biography in Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III, 155–258. His image appears to be a sensitive matter in contemporary Saudi Arabia; see Salīmī, *Qabīlat Thaqīf*, 7, where the author, himself a Thaqafī who provides many useful details on life in Ṭā'if, hopes that justice will one day be rendered him.

## 9 ‘Udhra

A nomadic Arabian tribe of the Quḍā‘a federation.<sup>704</sup> Its pedigree is: ‘Udhra ibn Sa‘d Hudhaym ibn Zayd ibn Layth ibn Sūd ibn Aslum<sup>705</sup> ibn al-Ḥāf ibn Quḍā‘a. The ‘Udhra were the central group among the descendants of Sa‘d Hudhaym<sup>706</sup> and they incorporated several brother-clans, such as the Ḥārith ibn Sa‘d Hudhaym and Salāmān ibn Sa‘d Hudhaym.<sup>707</sup> These ‘Udhra should not be confused with the ‘Udhra of the Kalb ibn Wabara, i.e., ‘Udhra ibn Zayd Allāt ibn Rufayda ibn Thawr ibn Kalb.<sup>708</sup> One of the latter ‘Udhra was the genealogist Ibn al-Kalbī<sup>709</sup> who described the ‘Udhra ibn Zayd Allāt at length.<sup>710</sup>

The ‘Udhra were known for their passionate love and tender-heartedness. ‘Udhrite love (*ḥubb ‘udhrī*) which descended from Platonic love was called after them. The famous Jamīl (d. 82/701) and his beloved Buthayna<sup>711</sup> belonged to different subgroups of an ‘Udhra subdivision called Ḥunn ibn Rabī‘a. In the early Islamic period the Ḥunn and their brothers, the Rizāḥ ibn Rabī‘a, were the main tribal groups among the ‘Udhra (*qabīlā ‘Udhra*).<sup>712</sup>

It is possible that Christianity penetrated the ‘Udhra on the eve of Islam, but there is clear evidence of idol worship among them.<sup>713</sup> An idol called Ḥumām<sup>714</sup> figures in the story about the conversion to Islam of Ziml ibn ‘Amr al-‘Udhri. It belonged to Ziml’s group, the Hind ibn Ḥarām ibn Ḍinna ibn ‘Abd ibn Kabīr ibn ‘Udhra.<sup>715</sup> Interestingly, the descendants of Ḍinna, who also included the above mentioned Ḥunn and Rabī‘a, were originally of the Bakr ibn Wā’il and were later incorporated into the ‘Udhra, claiming that Ḍinna was ‘Udhra’s great-

<sup>704</sup>Caskel, II, 91–93, 565–66; *Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 715–20; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 315, 447–50; Yāqūt, *Muqtaḍab*, 344–46. For the internal divisions of the ‘Udhra see e.g. Ibn Mākūlā, I, 76–78.

<sup>705</sup>For the vocalization of this name see *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih*, I, 228.

<sup>706</sup>Cf. Donner, *Conquests*, 102 (who overlooks the fact that the ‘Udhra are part of the Sa‘d Hudhaym).

<sup>707</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 447 (*wa-l-Ḥārith baṭn fī ‘Udhra wa-Salāmān baṭn fī ‘Udhra*). Cf. Ibn Mākūlā, I, 75–76. The statement regarding Salāmān is confirmed by a passage in *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), XI, 169 (‘Umar ibn Abī Rabī‘a: *kāna lī ṣaḍīq min ‘Udhra ... wa-kāna aḥad banī Salāmān ...*). For the solidarity between the ‘Udhra and the Salāmān see *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), XII, 255–56.

<sup>708</sup>*Īnās*, 203–204. Sam‘ānī, IV, 171–72, did confuse the two and deserved the criticism he got in *Lubāb*, II, 331–32.

<sup>709</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 459.

<sup>710</sup>*Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 558–635.

<sup>711</sup>The caliph ‘Abd al-Malik on his way to the pilgrimage met Buthayna in Wādī l-Qurā; *TMD*, *Mukhtaṣar*, V, 275–76.

<sup>712</sup>Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 449.

<sup>713</sup>Some ‘Udhris (*qawm min ‘Udhra*) worshipped an idol called Shams; Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīkh*, I, 255. But the text is probably garbled.

<sup>714</sup>See above in this volume, no. III, 7.

<sup>715</sup>Ziml was assigned three *nisbas*: al-‘Udhri, al-Ḥarāmī, al-Ḍinnī; Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughya* (facs.), VIII, 390 (written ... ibn Ḥizām ... al-Ḥizāmī).

grandson.<sup>716</sup>

The ‘Udhra lived in the area of Ashrāf/Mashārif al-Shām;<sup>717</sup> in this context the northern Ḥijāz is meant.<sup>718</sup> In particular, they were linked with Wādī l-Qurā where before Islam they had an alliance with the Jewish agriculturalists. It assured the ‘Udhra of an annual share in the crops in return for protecting the settlement from attacks by other Bedouins, of whom the Balī are specifically mentioned.<sup>719</sup>

The assigned portion of the ‘Udhra amounted to one third of the annual harvest, while two thirds remained in the hands of the Jewish agriculturalists. When Muḥammad conquered Wādī l-Qurā (7 A.H.), he received half of the Jews’ share, i.e., one third of the total, while the Jews kept one third for themselves. Upon the expulsion of the Jews (or rather of some of them) by ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, they received in cash the estimated value of their share, namely ninety thousand dinars. ‘Umar then offered the ‘Udhra an additional sixth of the crops in return for one sixth of the value, i.e., forty five thousand dinars. They accepted, becoming the owners of one half of Wādī l-Qurā. One third of the remaining half was included in the charitable endowments (*ṣadaqāt*) of the Prophet, while one sixth of the same half belonged to all the Muslims.<sup>720</sup>

‘Udhra’s association with Wādī l-Qurā continued in the Islamic period, and many of those known by the *nisba* al-Wādiyyu were no doubt ‘Udhri.<sup>721</sup> Already before Islam some ‘Udhri groups had emigrated to Syria;<sup>722</sup> other groups emigrated to Egypt and al-Andalus.

Some claimed that the mother of the Aws and Khazraj was Qayla bint Kāhil ibn ‘Udhra, which may point to a pre-Islamic link between the ‘Udhra and the inhabitants of Yathrib. Far more is known about ‘Udhra’s links with Quraysh, which is hardly surprising considering the attention given to Quraysh in the sources. The main theme in ‘Udhra historiography is Rizāḥ ibn Rabī‘a’s reported help to Quṣayy ibn Kilāb in his takeover of the Ka‘ba and Mecca. It was said that Rizāḥ’s father, Rabī‘a, while on pilgrimage to Mecca, married the widow of Kilāb ibn Murra. He returned home with his wife and her little son Quṣayy, while her other son, Zuhra, remained in Mecca. Quṣayy who grew up unaware of

<sup>716</sup>Not to be confused with Ḍinna ibn Sa‘d Hudhaym who was ‘Udhra’s brother; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ansāb*, 447, 486.

<sup>717</sup>Azraqī, I, 104; *Shifā’ al-gharām*, II, 107.

<sup>718</sup>Cf. Caskel, II, 565–66.

<sup>719</sup>*Mu‘jam mā sta‘jam*, I, 43–44 (...*fa-‘aqadū baynahum ḥilfan wa-‘aqdan wa-kāna lahum fihā ‘alā l-yahūd ṭu‘ma wa-uk[u]l fī kull ‘ām wa-mana‘uhā lahum mina l-‘arab wa-dafa‘ū ‘anhā qabā’il Balī ... wa-ghayrahum mina l-qabā’il*); Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Qurā, 338b, quoting al-Sakūnī. The threat of a military encounter with the Hunn subdivision of ‘Udhra sufficed to deter al-Nu‘man ibn al-Ḥārith al-Ghassanī from attacking Wādī l-Qurā. This is mentioned by the poet al-Nābigha al-Dhubyanī; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. al-Qurā; *Mu‘jam mā sta‘jam*, I, 43–44.

<sup>720</sup>Mawardi, 362.

<sup>721</sup>Sam‘ānī, s.v., V, 557–58.

<sup>722</sup>The Tamīma were *batn bi-l-Shām*; Ibn Mākūlā, I, 76; *Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 716.

his Qurashī descent<sup>723</sup> returned to Mecca as an adult (sometime in the first half of the sixth century C.E.). He fought against the Khuzā‘a, the then lords of the Ka‘ba and Mecca, who were assisted by their Kinānī allies.<sup>724</sup> Quṣayy received help from his half-brother, Rizāḥ ibn Rabī‘a, who had become the leader and commander of the Quḏā‘a. According to some, both Rizāḥ and Ḥunn whom Rabī‘a begot from the widow aided their half-brother Quṣayy. Also ‘Udhra’s brothers, the Ḥārith ibn Sa‘d Hudhaym, are supposed to have participated in the takeover of Mecca: one of them was reportedly the commander of Rizāḥ’s vanguard.<sup>725</sup> An ‘Udhri informant who reported on ‘Udhra’s delegation to the Prophet said that its members reminded the Prophet of their family links with Quṣayy and their aid in ousting from Mecca its former lords, the Khuzā‘a and the Bakr ibn ‘Abd Manāt ibn Kināna.<sup>726</sup> Rizāḥ later pursued an aggressive policy against several brother-clans of the Quḏā‘a, forcing them out of Quḏā‘a’s territory and genealogical bond.<sup>727</sup> It was reported that in his war against the Khuzā‘a Quṣayy received aid from the Byzantine Emperor (*fa-ḥāraba Khuzā‘a bi-man tabi‘ahu wa-a‘ānahu qayṣar ‘alayhā*).<sup>728</sup>

The relations between some ‘Udhri (of the Kāhil ibn ‘Udhra branch)<sup>729</sup> and the Zuhra ibn Kilāb of Quraysh were particularly close. A family link was already established in the lifetime of Zuhra, Quṣayy’s brother, since Rizāḥ was a half-brother not only of Quṣayy but also of Zuhra. As already mentioned, whereas little Quṣayy went with his mother to the territory of the ‘Udhra, Zuhra (being an adult) stayed in Mecca.<sup>730</sup> Many years later Khālīd ibn ‘Urfuṭa ibn Ṣu‘ayr al-‘Udhri (d. 61/681) came to Mecca as a young boy and became a client (*ḥalīf*) of the Zuhra.<sup>731</sup> In another report it was already his grandfather, Ṣu‘ayr, who came to Mecca and became a client (*fa-ḥālafa*) of the Makhzūm, whom he later abandoned to become the client of the Banū ‘Abd Manāf ibn Zuhra.<sup>732</sup> Khālīd accompanied Sa‘d ibn Abī Waqqāṣ al-Zuhri during the conquest of Iraq and the

<sup>723</sup>Azraqī, I, 104–105.

<sup>724</sup>Balādhuri, I, 50; *Muḥabbar* 251. Cf. Azraqī, I, 107; *Shifā’ al-gharām*, II, 109.

<sup>725</sup>‘Amir ibn ‘Abdallāh ibn Dhubyān ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Sa‘d; *Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 720. Elsewhere we find that Rizāḥ came with his half-brothers Ḥunn, Maḥmūd and Julhuma, sons of Rabī‘a ibn Ḥarām; Azraqī, I, 105–106. (But according to others Julhuma was their uncle.)

<sup>726</sup>Ibn Sa‘d, I, 331. Yāqūt, *Muqtaḍab*, 345, has it that Rizāḥ ousted from Mecca the Ṣūfa, the Khuzā‘a and the Bakr ibn ‘Abd Manāt. In *Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 717, the Khuzā‘a are missing.

<sup>727</sup>*Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 716–17; Kister, “Mecca and the tribes”, 47–48. It is reported that the Quḏā‘a were only united under (*ijtima‘at . . . ‘alā*) two leaders: Zuhayr ibn Janāb al-Kalbī and Rizāḥ; *Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 716; Ibn Mākūlā, I, 76 (note that both were closely associated with the Meccan sanctuary).

<sup>728</sup>Ibn Qutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 640–41; quoted in Kister, “Mecca and the tribes”, 50.

<sup>729</sup>*Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 719.

<sup>730</sup>Balādhuri, I, 49.

<sup>731</sup>*Iṣāba*, II, 244.

<sup>732</sup>*Munammaq*, 246. Nāfi‘ ibn ‘Utba ibn Abī Waqqāṣ was married to a daughter of Khālīd ibn ‘Urfuṭa who bore him several children; Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqa al-rābi‘a*, I, 289. On ‘Utba see above in this volume, no. V.

latter made him his deputy in Kūfa.<sup>733</sup> Moreover, there are reports claiming that Sa'd himself was of 'Udhri origin. In his *Kitāb al-mathālib* Ibn al-Kalbī quotes unidentified descendants of Khālīd who asserted that Khālīd and Sa'd's father, Abū Waqqāṣ/Mālik, who were both 'Udhri, came to Mecca and the latter became a client of the Zuhra, adopting their genealogy (*wa-'ntasaba fihim*). Ibn al-Kalbī also quotes an anonymous Zuhri source alleging a bitter exchange between the caliph 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān and Sa'd's nephew, Hāshim ibn 'Utba ibn Abī Waqqāṣ, in which the former is supposed to have said that he recognized in the latter the peculiar heavy walk of the 'Udhra (*inkhizāl banī 'Udhra*). Some Shī'ites took this even further, claiming that Sa'd was an illegitimate son of an 'Udhri man who was his mother's friend.<sup>734</sup>

Also Khālīd ibn 'Urfuṭa's relative, 'Abdallāh ibn Tha'laba ibn Ṣu'ayr (d. 87/706 or 89/708),<sup>735</sup> was a client of the Zuhra and a son of a Zuhri mother. He was an expert on genealogy — not of the 'Udhra, but of the Zuhra. Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri, according to his own testimony, studied the genealogy of the Zuhra with him.<sup>736</sup> It is worthy of note that al-Zuhri owned an estate in the Shaghb and Badā area (north west of Wādī l-Qurā) which was inhabited by the 'Udhra. Zuhri bought this estate from people who received it from the Prophet as a grant.<sup>737</sup>

The 'Udhra tenaciously preserved the memory of their contacts with the Prophet. Sulaym ibn 'Ushsh al-'Udhri mentioned how the Prophet led the 'Udhri

<sup>733</sup> *Tawḍīḥ al-mushtabih*, V, 427–28. Earlier, in Qādisiyya, Sa'd put him in charge of the right hand flank of the army (*maymanat al-nās*); *Iqd*, III, 375.

<sup>734</sup> *Kāna khidnan li-ummihi*; *Biḥār al-anwār*, XLIV, 309. See also Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 203–204 (*wa-kāna Sa'd fīmā yuqālu li-rajul min banī 'Udhra*); in the verses which follow al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī refers to Sa'd as *zunaym*; cf. Lane, s.v. *zanīm*, I, 1259; al-Sayyid al-Ḥimyarī, *Dīwān*, 163. Sa'd reportedly asked the Prophet *man anā?* The latter assured him that he was the son of Mālik ibn Wuhayb ibn 'Abd Manāf ibn Zuhra and cursed anyone having another opinion on this matter; *TMD*, XX, 285–86. This dialogue is quoted in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. Sa'd b. Abī Waqqāṣ (G. Hawting), at 696a: the Prophet's mother was from the Zuhra and the Prophet was acknowledging Sa'd as a maternal uncle. But the dialogue should obviously be linked to the suspicions regarding Sa'd's origin.

<sup>735</sup> *TMD*, XXVII, 178–90.

<sup>736</sup> *Nasab qawmī*; *Muntazam*, VII, 231. A work containing the genealogy of his clan (*qawm*, i.e., the Zuhra) is said to have been the only book which Zuhri owned (*lam yakun li-l-Zuhri kitāb illā kitāb fihī nasab qawmīhi*); *Ma'rifa wa-ta'rīkh*, I, 641; also 643 (Zuhri showed a visitor who asked to see his *kutub* that he only had *shay' min nasab qawmīhi wa-shi'r*). But a somewhat malicious remark by Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī suggests that Zuhri's knowledge of genealogy went far beyond his own tribe and that it made him a popular companion of 'Abd al-Malik (*kāna sabab mujālasati l-Zuhri 'Abda l-Malik ibn Marwān al-nasab, kāna a'lama l-nās bi-l-nasab, kāna ta'allamahu min 'Abdillāh ibn Tha'laba ibn Ṣu'ayr wa-kāna ḥalīf banī Zuhra*); *TMD*, XXVII, 189.

<sup>737</sup> Lecker, "Biographical notes on Ibn Shihāb al-Zuhri", 54. The grant in question is probably the one given to the Banū l-Aḥabb ibn Ḥunn; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Qālis. The identification is based on details given about Buthayna, Jamīl's beloved, whose pedigree shows that she belonged to the Banū l-Aḥabb; *TMD*, *Mukhtaṣar*, V, 275. In addition, wādī Badan and Shaghb were among the places where Jamīl longed to see her; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, s.v. Badan; *Aghānī* (Dār al-Kutub), VIII, 121; *Khizāna*, IX, 464.

in prayer in a certain place where the nomads (*ahl al-bawādī*) later gathered for their Friday prayer.<sup>738</sup> Typically, both reports on ‘Udhra’s delegation to the Prophet in Ibn Sa’d’s *Ṭabaqāt* are family reports by ‘Udhri informants. One of them, Abū ‘Amr ibn Ḥurayth al-‘Udhri, quotes “the book of his ancestors” (*wajadtū fī kitāb ābā’ī*).<sup>739</sup> The other is the grandson of the above mentioned Ziml ibn ‘Amr, Mudlij ibn al-Miqdād ibn Ziml, who does not mention any member of the delegation besides his grandfather in his report.<sup>740</sup>

Two ‘Udhriīs are said to have received grants from the Prophet. Jamīl ibn Ridām received a watering place called al-Ramd or al-Ramdā;<sup>741</sup> Jamra ibn al-Nu‘mān, the *sayyid* of the ‘Udhra<sup>742</sup> (more precisely, of the Kāhil ibn ‘Udhra<sup>743</sup>) was the first to bring the Prophet the *ṣadaqa*-tax of the ‘Udhra. Alternatively, he was reportedly the first Ḥijāzī leader to bring the Prophet the *ṣadaqa*-tax of his people.<sup>744</sup> The Prophet assigned Jamra in Wādī l-Qurā “the extent of his horse’s run and a single shot of his whip”.<sup>745</sup> Jamra’s grant of land was perceived by ‘Udhri genealogists-cum-historians as putting an end to Jewish domination in Wādī l-Qurā. The ‘Udhra, we are told, protected Wādī l-Qurā and were the Jews’ neighbours until their delegation came to the Prophet who granted Jamra the above land.<sup>746</sup> The advent of Islam gave precedence to the Arab population throughout Arabia, and the ‘Udhra of Wādī l-Qurā were no exception. To be sure, the Qurashīs and Anṣār received the greater part of the rich agricultural lands and water resources in Wādī l-Qurā when they were redistributed by ‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.<sup>747</sup>

Before being incorporated in specialized monographs during the 2nd/8th century, knowledge about tribal genealogy, history and poetry was preserved by tribal experts. An early authority on ‘Udhra’s genealogy was al-Nakhkhār ibn Aws ibn Ubayr al-‘Udhri, a contemporary of Mu‘āwiya. (In fact, he belonged to ‘Udhra’s brother-clan, the Ḥārith ibn Sa’d Hudhaym.)

The ‘Udhra, located as they were between Shām (more precisely, Palestine) and the Ḥijāz, were probably loyal to the Umayyads. ‘Udhra’s role in the admin-

<sup>738</sup> *Iṣāba*, III, 168.

<sup>739</sup> Ibn Sa’d, I, 331. See also above, no. X.

<sup>740</sup> *Ibid.*, Ibn Sa’d, I, 332.

<sup>741</sup> *Iṣāba*, I, 499; *Uṣd al-ghāba*, I, 295; *Lisān al-‘arab*, III, 186b, s.v.

<sup>742</sup> Ibn Sa’d, IV, 356.

<sup>743</sup> *Nasab Ma‘add*, II, 719.

<sup>744</sup> *Iṣāba*, I, 497. A comprehensive report on *awā’il* in Ṭabarānī, *Kabīr*, IX, 221, credits the ‘Udhra with having been the first to bring the Prophet the *ṣadaqa*-tax obediently and of their own accord (*ṭā’i‘ma min qibal anfusihim*). Cf. ‘Askarī, *Awā’il*, I, 187 (*awwal ṣadaqa atathu ṣadaqat banī ‘Udhra*).

<sup>745</sup> *Hudr farasihi wa-ramyat sawṭihi*; *Iṣāba*, I, 497.

<sup>746</sup> *Mu‘jam mā sta‘jam*, I, 44 (*fa-lam yazālū ‘alā dhālika qad mana‘ū tilka l-bilād wa-jāwarū l-yahūd fihā hattā qadima wafduhum ‘alā rasūli llāh ṣ*, *Jamra ibn al-Nu‘mān . . .*, *fa-ja‘ala lahu ramyat sawṭihi wa-huḍr farasihi min Wādī l-Qurā*).

<sup>747</sup> Wāqidi, II, 720–21.

istration of the early Islamic state was humble, perhaps because they were not numerous. Ziml ibn ‘Amr was in command of Mu‘āwiya’s *shurṭa*<sup>748</sup> and later he was in charge of Yazīd ibn Mu‘āwiya’s *khātam*.<sup>749</sup> ‘Umar II may have favoured the ‘Udhra: his governor in Damascus was ‘Uthmān ibn Sa‘d (or Sa‘īd) al-‘Udhri<sup>750</sup> and his *qāḍī* there was ‘Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Khashkhāsh al-‘Udhri.<sup>751</sup>

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<sup>748</sup>Cf. Donner, “The Shurta”, 251.

<sup>749</sup>*Iṣāba*, II, 568.

<sup>750</sup>*TMD*, XXXVIII, 360.

<sup>751</sup>*TMD*, XXXIV, 335–38.



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